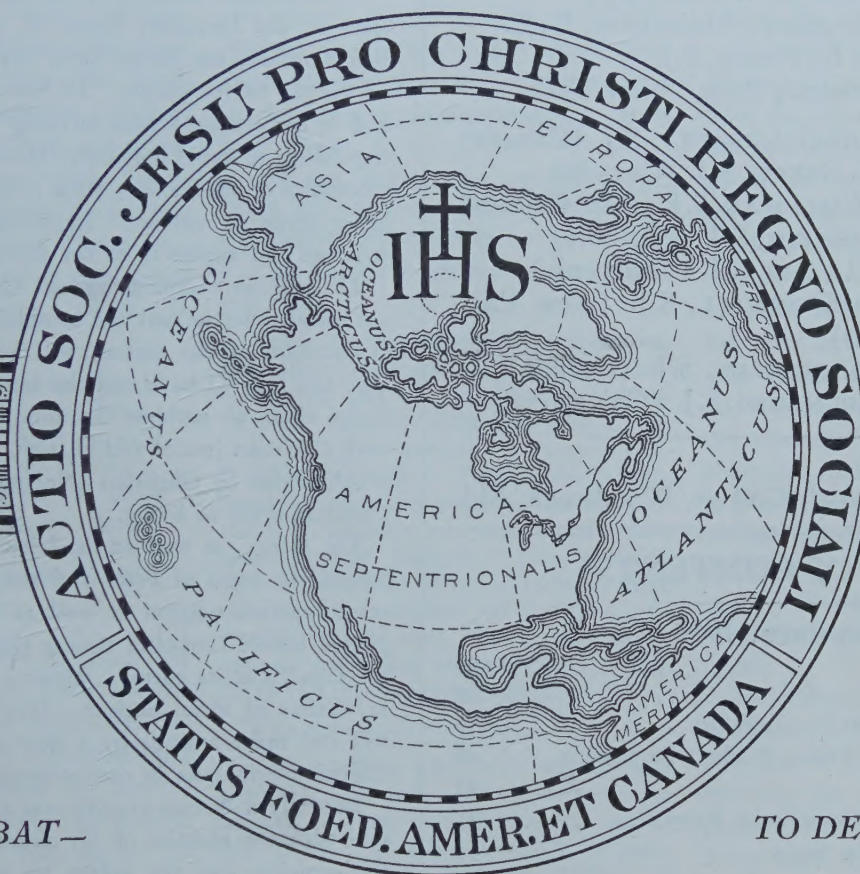


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

VOL. II

■ • ■

DECEMBER, 1936

■ • ■

NO. 2

Informationes et Notitiae

NEWS BULLETIN

on

COMMUNISM and INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM

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Editor-in-Chief: LAWRENCE K. PATTERSON, S.J.,
Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

Associate Editors: { EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.,
Georgetown University, D. C.
JOHN LA FARGE, S.J.,
"America Press," New York.

Contributing Editors: { J. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S.J. (Canada)
W. X. BRYAN, S.J. (Canada)
C. C. CHAPMAN, S.J. (New Orleans)
J. HUSSLEIN, S.J. (Missouri)
C. E. LEAHY, S.J. (California)
J. MACDONNELL, S.J. (New Eng-
land)
J. McASTOCKER, S.J. (Oregon)
F. SIEDENBURG, S.J. (Chicago)

Editorial Office:
Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

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EDITORIAL

TWO CAMPAIGNS

"Communism is the most serious menace of our times."—
Pope Pius XI.

There are two ways of fighting Communism, two approaches and techniques, and both are important. One attack is direct and is levelled at its economics and its philosophy; the other attack is to substitute a social order that will make Communism unnecessary.

The economics of Communism is founded on the denial of the right of private property, and to cure greed—the abuse of property, by a few—it would deprive all of the inspiration and incentive for joyous labor and human security.

Communism wherever tried has been a failure, and in spite of the herculean labors of a hundred and sixty million Russians, the Soviet State has not brought either peace or plenty to its people. It has brought greater tyranny, and in desperation Russia is today turning to the devices of Capitalism to avoid ignominy. Moreover, Communism is the economics of mediocrity, with a tendency to standardize the lower levels of culture. Logically, it advocates rank materialism and applies it to the family as well as to the state.

The indirect campaign against Communism aims to reform our social order so that the complaint of the Communist, the exploitation of the masses, will be meaningless. Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI have told the world that ruthless Capitalism is the cause of ruthless Communism, that both are at war with Christian justice and charity, and only when Capitalism is sublimated by Christian principles can it be accepted as a Christian order of living.

The clergy, as well as the laity in the Church, have not heeded the voice of Peter and are partly responsible for the revolt against religion as well as against society. The exploited beheld Catholics among their oppressors and counted the Church as its enemy. Mexico and Spain are cited today as victims of social neglect. May we profit by the terrible toll and make amends by a new zeal for the promotion of Christian principles in our economic and social life.

Recently a Basque captive was asked how his people could side with the enemies of his church. He replied, "Between the exploiter and the savage we prefer the savage, because after we defeat the exploiter we will rid ourselves of the savage." This may be unwise, but it has some justification.

To definitely eliminate Communism, society must distribute more equitably the wealth of the world, which was created by God for all and not for the few. If the conscience of man will not do this voluntarily, the strong arm of the state must do it by statute so that the poorest and most helpless of whatever race, creed or color will have at least what Pope Leo called "frugal comfort."

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S.J.

Nov. 25, 1936.



Part I

Home Survey



How Communism Trains Its Agitators

A Survey of Training Schools in the United States

THE Communist does not go about his work of destroying Christianity and Democracy in a casual or disorganized manner. He has a definite program divided into appropriate chapters and verses. He takes the long-range view and systematically prepares his disciples for their task of world revolution. In his report to the Ninth National Convention of the Party, Mr. Earl Browder, General Secretary, showed himself to be both a realist and a competent pedagogue when he warned the comrades:

"The best policy in the world turns out in life to be no better than the people who must execute it, who must apply it to the thousand variable conditions of daily life. Application of policy among the masses is first of all a problem of securing a high quality leading personnel."

To ascertain how this is done, the editors of the Bulletin have sought the most accurate and authentic information available. A Congressional Committee of the House of Representatives, 73rd Congress, under legal authority, investigated this aspect of Communist activity, and published a report. From the hearings at Washington, D. C., on December 18 and 19, 1934, we reproduce the following, from pp. 36-37:

Educational field.—The Communist Party has recognized the need of providing a constant supply of thoroughly trained revolutionary leaders to carry on its propaganda and its organizational work in the industrial and agricultural fields. With a view to creating such supply, it has established a

series of workers' schools in the principal industrial centers of the United States under the guidance of the workers' school located at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City, whose purposes are described in the foreword of its fall term announcement of courses as follows: It is—

a national institution, providing curricula and assistance to workers' schools throughout the country.

This national school has as its central aim—

to equip the workers with the knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its effective application in their militant struggles against the capitalist class toward the decisive proletarian victory. The revolutionary working class movement is in constant need of training new cadres of active workers and leaders. The workers' school, therefore, plays an indispensable role in the struggles led by the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions and mass organizations. (See 1934 fall term announcement, p. 3.)

The foreword continues:

The workers schools is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class. It takes part in strikes, campaigns, and demonstrations; it supplies speakers, agitators, and organizers; it stimulates working class educational and cultural movements and various studies; and it cooperates with workers' fraternal and cultural organizations in the establishment of forums, class and study circles. (See *ibid.*, p. 3.)

This school is growing rapidly. On page 3 of the announcement which I have quoted, it says:

From a mere handful in 1923, our registration grew to 6,000 in 1933-34. I offer a copy of this announcement

in evidence. I also offer in evidence a copy of the school's announcement for the winter term, January 7 to March 30, 1935.

Clustered about this school are a number of organizations designed to hold the interest of the students outside of school hours and to aid the school in other ways. Among these may be mentioned the following:

The Friends of the Workers School "whose purpose is to help spread working class education." (See p. 5 of the fall term announcement.)

A Students' Council which carries on "the extra-curricular activities of the students." (See p. 5 of the fall term announcement.)

The Theatre of the Workers School, an announcement of which I offer in evidence.

A Workers School Forum. Its December announcement is offered in evidence.

Here then is a powerful educational institution devoted exclusively to the training of revolutionary leaders and teaching the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force and violence and providing its students not only with such training but also with a social center.

STATEMENT OF ABRAHAM MARKOFF

(The witness was duly affirmed.)

The CHAIRMAN. You live where, Mr. Markoff?

Mr. MARKOFF. At 323 West One Hundred and Third Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business is what?

Mr. MARKOFF. I am director of the Workers' School.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been director of the Workers' School?

Mr. MARKOFF. Since 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has the school been in existence?

Mr. MARKOFF. Since 1923.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a citizen of this country?

Mr. MARKOFF. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. You became a citizen when?

Mr. MARKOFF. 1911; December 2.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in the country—

Mr. MARKOFF. Since 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. You were born where?

Mr. MARKOFF. Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the school are there?

Mr. MARKOFF. You mean the students?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARKOFF. At the present time we have over 3,000 in the full term.

The CHAIRMAN. In the full term?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; that is this full term.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in New York?

Mr. MARKOFF. New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you similar schools throughout the country?

Mr. MARKOFF. We have.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are they located?

Mr. MARKOFF. Chicago, Boston, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get those cities. Chicago; where are they located in Chicago?

Mr. MARKOFF. I could not remember now, off-hand.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where they are located in Boston?

Mr. MARKOFF. I could not remember the addresses.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with the other cities now.

Mr. MARKOFF. Youngstown, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Louisville, Ky. Louisville, Ky., is just a small school opened up, so it is really not a school; it is a study circle.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you records of all these schools?

Mr. MARKOFF. Some of them, not

all. We do not get regular reports from them, so we have some of them and some of them we have not.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the system of report?

Mr. MARKOFF. They tell us occasionally as to how many students they have, what courses they give, and as to their financial standing. That is about all.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have about 3,000 in New York?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they pay any dues or any expenses?

Mr. MARKOFF. They do. They pay on the average of \$3 per term per 3 months. Some of them pay only \$2, those who are sent by organizations, fraternal organizations or unions. When they are directed by the organization, we give them a scholarship of \$1 off the fees.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, it costs more than \$3 a term to carry on the school.

Mr. MARKOFF. Well, it does and it does not. You see, we augment our income by social affairs such as dances, and so forth, organized by the students. We also conduct a forum every Sunday, for which we charge admission, and that brings in a little. But with the strict economy that we have, we can even exist on the tuition fee alone.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. What is the purpose of this school, Mr. Markoff?

Mr. MARKOFF. The purpose of the school is to supply the knowledge of the trade-union movement, knowledge of sociology, philosophy from the Marxian viewpoint, the history of the United States, history of the American labor movement, history of labor movements in other countries, and also English for foreigners. We also teach Russian, those who like to study the Russian language. This, of course, is a minor function of the school.

The CHAIRMAN. The primary purpose is to teach the Marxian philosophy, is it not?

Mr. MARKOFF. Well, Marxian philosophy, political economy, and sociology.

The CHAIRMAN. A part of the training for later becoming a member of the Communist Party, I assume?

Mr. MARKOFF. It is not exactly. We hope that some of them, after they have learned the theory, will find enough interest in joining the party, but we do not exactly succeed in doing that. A small percentage, I suppose, does join the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your course of study provide for class promotion?

Mr. MARKOFF. We have a beginner's class, beginning with the elements of political economy, and a course that we call "principles of the class struggle." This is a beginner's course. We give them a sort of a birdseye view of the principles involved in the question of class division of society; this is a pure Marxian approach to political economy. Having done this, they can take courses of a higher nature, such as dialectic materialism and historical materialism, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a list of the students enrolled here in New York?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; we have.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the committee a list of their names and addresses?

Mr. MARKOFF. I have not got that thing with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you furnish it to the committee?

Mr. MARKOFF. If necessary I will.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you, Will you furnish us with a list of their names and addresses?

Mr. MARKOFF. If it is required.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee asks you to do it.

Mr. MARKOFF. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. I make that suggestion rather than have you bring up your books and have you disturb your activities, because all we would have to do would be just to summons them and keep them in our possession and return them to you later. We do not want to do that unless necessary.

Mr. MARKOFF. It will take quite a long time to make up lists of 3,000 students with the limited force we have. I do not know how soon I can have that done.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me put it this way: If the committee desires, you will permit the committee to send one of its staff down to examine the books of

your school and obtain the names of the members.

Mr. MARKOFF. The records are open.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I appreciate your position that it would cause a lot of inconvenience and expense in addition. We will have that understanding. Who are the teachers?

Mr. MARKOFF. The teachers are people who have acquired sufficient theoretical knowledge of the subjects. They are not professional teachers. Many are pursuing all kinds of trades, in order to make a living, but they have acquired by personal study or by going through certain courses—

The CHAIRMAN. Are they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKOFF. Many of them are; some of them are not.

The CHAIRMAN. How many teachers have you?

Mr. MARKOFF. We have anywhere between 45 and 50 today.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of them teachers in our public schools?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of them teachers in our universities or colleges or private schools?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you furnish us with a list of the names and addresses of the teachers?

Mr. MARKOFF. Again, it is a question whether this is absolutely necessary. If it is necessary and if there is an order to that effect, we will have to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to do it.

Mr. MARKOFF. I personally would rather not, but if the committee decides to, I suppose there will be no other alternative. That is the condition.

The CHAIRMAN. The furnishing of a list of names and addresses of teachers will not be a large task, will it?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Then I direct you to send Congressman Dickstein a list of the teachers.

Mr. MARKOFF. All right. The list of the names of the teachers appears in our official announcement. We have a printed announcement for every term.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Browder?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; I know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Your activity is part of the Communist movement?

Mr. MARKOFF. My personal activities only.

The CHAIRMAN. The Workers' Night School is?

Mr. MARKOFF. I would not call it directly an activity of the Communist movement. It is a school for workers, entirely independent of the party. However, the teachings are based definitely on the Communist philosophy and Communist principles.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you accept instructions from the party?

Mr. MARKOFF. No; there are no instructions given. However, we do accept guidance, in the sense that when the party through its congresses passes resolutions and decisions, we study them and try to incorporate them in our study.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as an organization there is political continuity?

Mr. MARKOFF. To a certain extent; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you also furnish to the committee, Mr. Markoff, in sending to Mr. Dickstein the information previously requested, the subjects which are taught?

Mr. MARKOFF. Surely; I will send you one with the announcements.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have printed copies of the lectures?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That depends on the individual instructor?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; and we use certain texts. For instance, we may use, Capital, by Marx, or some of the writings of Engels, or some of the writings of Lenin, or some of the writings of American professors of various colleges on economics or sociology. We study History of the American Labor Movement, by Professor Commons. There is a variety of books to which we refer. We have a library to which students can go for reference.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Does your school pay rent?

Mr. MARKOFF. They do.

The CHAIRMAN. What rent?

Mr. MARKOFF. \$500 a month for two floors. That is practically true. We

occupy the entire third and part of the second. Altogether we have 13 rooms.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the requirements of membership include belief in the principles and the philosophy of the movement?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And obedience to the will of the majority?

Mr. MARKOFF. That is not exactly required from a new member, not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is understood, I assume?

Mr. MARKOFF. It is understood, like any other organization, when they enter a club they have to abide by the decisions of the majority.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the Communist Party is opposed to the present so-called "capitalistic state"?

Mr. MARKOFF. Correct. Capitalists—not state, but a system of society. There is a difference.

* * * * *

Mr. DICKSTEIN. If you desire to communicate with somebody in Los Angeles in the school there of your organization, how would you communicate with him?

Mr. MARKOFF. I would communicate with the address of the school. The address of the school we have, and the person in charge.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I want the addresses of these schools, in the various places, that you have in America.

Mr. MARKOFF. Oh, yes; we can do that. You will get that.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you to give us the names and addresses of your teachers here.

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The addresses of the schools in other cities.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The students.

The CHAIRMAN. The students are so many I suggest that if we want them we could send one of our men down.

The names of the directors of those in charge of the schools in other cities, I asked for those.

Mr. MARKOFF. The names of the directors?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARKOFF. Some of them have none, but wherever we have we will give it to you. Sometimes they have

just a group, a committee, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. And where the school is conducted.

Mr. MARKOFF. All right.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In making out these applications for your schools, or the schools in the other places, have you a form of that application?

Mr. MARKOFF. Not with me, but we have.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Will you have that for me?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other literature in connection with your schools, or data that is printed?

Mr. MARKOFF. Nothing especial except perhaps some outlines of courses that we occasionally mimeograph, you know, or certain additional material from books that are too expensive and we mimeograph passages to supply to the students. But that is all. Then of course, we have in the Daily Worker every week a column for the Workers' Schools, and there there appear all kinds of statements on the school, as to the progress and so forth. This can be easily obtained. I mean, this is official.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. What are the average ages of these people that attend the school?

Mr. MARKOFF. The average age would be—well, I should say between 24 and 30.

* * * * *

Mr. DICKSTEIN. You are in the building in which the whole Communist movement is situated. You occupy the second and third floors, that is, the Workers' School?

Mr. MARKOFF. Right.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The fourth floor is the Finnish Federation, is that right?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The fifth floor is the district of New York committee?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The sixth floor is the Morning Freedom. That is a paper that is published every morning?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Then you have the press linotypes on the seventh floor?

Mr. MARKOFF. This I do not know.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Then you have the Daily Worker on the eighth?

Mr. MARKOFF. I think so.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And the ninth floor is the so-called "central committee"?

Mr. MARKOFF. Certain offices, probably. The central committee has not any definite location. The central committee is a group of people who are just spread out in the various parts of the country. But I suppose the secretary is there.

* * * * *

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Getting back to this school, how many months of school do you give them?

Mr. MARKOFF. Three months a term, and we usually have three terms a year.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is just for \$3?

Mr. MARKOFF. For \$3 for the 3 months.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. So that for the whole term, the whole year, it is \$9?

Mr. MARKOFF. \$9.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Do you supply them books?

Mr. MARKOFF. No; they have to buy them.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. They have to buy them themselves? Do these teachers do other work?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Do they do other work during the day?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Do they teach anywhere during the day?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. These teachers are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKOFF. Not all; some of them are.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Most of them are?

Mr. MARKOFF. We will say a good percentage, probably most.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. You understand that for 9 months a year—you have school three terms—they are sacrificing their nights. What do they get as pay?

Mr. MARKOFF. Nothing.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. It is just voluntary?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; because they are interested in the work.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. So it must be for a cause.

Mr. MARKOFF. Correct.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The teachers really get nothing?

Mr. MARKOFF. Correct.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Most of them, the

majority of them, are members of the party?

Mr. MARKOFF. That is right.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. They are trying to build up the cause for which they are struggling?

Mr. MARKOFF. Correct.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. As they would call it, struggling, in this country.

Mr. MARKOFF. Correct.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. They take up the Constitution and discuss the Constitution and American history?

Mr. MARKOFF. They do.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. How many days during the week or how many hours during one week do you allow to that?

Mr. MARKOFF. Our courses are only one session a week, an hour and a half, 12 sessions a term.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. During the 12 sessions, how many nights do you take up the history of America?

Mr. MARKOFF. Well, the history of the United States. We have on two separate classes, on Wednesday night; and then the history of the American labor movement, which is also part of the American history, another evening. That is three—three classes we have in the history.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Then you have the history of industrial and labor movements?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; one session a week we have on the history of the labor movements in the other countries.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. When they get through do they give them a graduation?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Nothing at all?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. You are conducting it as a school. Have you a license?

Mr. MARKOFF. No; but we are not supposed to have any license because we are not leading to any degree or anything like that.

Mr. ELLENBOGEN. I understood you to say you were connected with this school when it originally started?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. ELLENBOGEN. Did you have anything to do with its creation?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. ELLENBOGEN. Was it not in fact the creation of the Communist Party, either by suggestion or resolution?

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

Mr. ELLENBOGEN. How did the school come into existence?

Mr. MARKOFF. I will tell you how, because I was one of the first group of a number of about, I believe, 10 or 9 of us who decided that it is necessary—that is, we thought that it is necessary to establish a school or a group where we can teach the principles of Marxism. So we came to that viewpoint, and we invited people—some people gave us donations to start with—and we started in one room on—I think it was University Place. We had only 46 students that year. The next year we were about to give up. The Communist Party, in fact, did not support us at that time at all, I mean in the sense of moral support. We never got any financial support from them. But the following year—it was 1925—the school began to grow more, and the growth proceeded in a very rapid way beginning with 1926, and especially with 1930.

* * * * *

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In teaching United States history, do you teach it critically? Do you make any criticism of it?

Mr. MARKOFF. If you will permit me, I will say that we teach it better than any school in the country.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. MARKOFF. Of course, we take up an interpretation of the Constitution and an interpretation of the development of America from its very discovery by Columbus and then later on the colonization of America, and so forth, and we interpret it in a true political manner, giving credit, naturally, where credit is due, and so forth.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. From the Marxian viewpoint?

Mr. MARKOFF. Most of it is the Marxian viewpoint; yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I mean you teach the Constitution of the United States from the Marxian viewpoint?

Mr. MARKOFF. Oh, yes; we interpret it on the basis of the materialistic interpretation of history.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. If we had no Marxian viewpoint we would interpret it from some other viewpoint? I mean

there is elasticity, you can work both ways, can you not?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; except in our opinion there are only two interpretations to history. One is the idealistic interpretation and one is the materialistic. Ours is the materialistic interpretation of history, and that is the interpretation we give.

Mr. ELLENBOGEN. But what is meant is that your interpretation is given to the extent that it will be consistent with the Marxian philosophy?

Mr. MARKOFF. Naturally.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is what he said, that it what I understood him to say. What is your pay for your services?

Mr. MARKOFF. On the average, between \$25 and \$30 a week.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Do you devote all your time to it?

Mr. MARKOFF. All the time.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Do you lay out the curriculum?

Mr. MARKOFF. Myself and other teachers of the school.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. You mean among the 45?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes; we discuss it together, and have general conferences. Then we have a small committee.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The whole tendency is toward Communism, is it not?

Mr. MARKOFF. What?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The whole tendency of the plan is toward the teaching of Communism?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes, yes, of course.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The curriculum that your teachers teach, is that subject to any approval or are you the final say?

Mr. MARKOFF. We have the final say.

FROM the testimony of the Director of the New York School, one gets a complete idea of the functioning of a Communist Normal School. As a specimen of the subjects taught, we select the San Francisco curriculum.

SAN FRANCISCO WORKERS SCHOOL — ANNOUNCEMENT OF COURSES

"Without a correct revolutionary theory, there can be no correct revolutionary practice."—LENIN

Third year, spring term: March 5 to May 31, 1934; Ruthenberg House, 121 Haight Street, San Francisco, Telephone UNDERhill 3425.

FOREWORD

The San Francisco Workers School functions on the basis of the economic, political, and philosophic teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and has as its fundamental principle the inseparability of revolutionary theory from revolutionary practice. The central aim of the Workers School is to equip workers with the knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its effective application in their militant struggles against the capitalist class toward the decisive proletarian victory. The revolutionary working-class movement is in constant need of trained new groups of active workers and leaders.

The school is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class.

PSEUDO MARXIST AND "LIBERAL" SCHOOLS

It is necessary to state that the Workers School is the only school in San Francisco which authoritatively bases its education on the theory of Marxism-Leninism under the official guidance and leadership of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and the Communist International.

Students seeking to obtain a true scientific Marxist-Leninist education should not be confused by the appearance of unauthorized schools pretending to the same purpose. Serious students of social science will also beware of the so-called "liberal" schools. Marxism, the application of the principles of dialectical materialism, is a science based on a thorough study of the processes of social and physical life. This science should be distinguished from the shallow vaporings of pedants who hide their bankruptcy and confusion under the title of "liberalism."

FORUMS

A series of forums, lectures, concerts, and exhibits will be given by the San Francisco Workers School during the spring term, every Sunday evening.

SCHOOL LIBRARY

The school asks for the assistance of all its friends in establishing its library. We have no endowment and the small tuition fee paid by the students is not sufficient to cover the expenses connected with the school. Therefore, we ask that any working-class, political, economic, or research literature that you can contribute to the school library be sent to the school office. No books allowed out of the building. Library open daily, 1 to 7 p. m., except Sunday.

REGISTRATION

Spring term 1934 opens March 5. It is essential to register early, since the size of the classes is limited.

School office open daily 1 to 10 p. m., except Sunday.

TUITION FEES

Each course of 3 months (12 sessions) \$1 for employed, 50c for unemployed. Courses under 12 sessions, 50c employed and 25c unemployed.

COURSES

All classes night classes. Twelve sessions unless otherwise stated.

Principles of Communism:

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 202. Instructor, E. Roberts.

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 202. Instructor, Ed. Boudreau.

An introduction to the study of Marxism-Leninism. Elements of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The two world systems of society, the economic crisis and its causes, the general crisis of capitalism, imperialist, contradictions, imperialist wars, proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the role of the Communist Party.

Principles of Communism for young workers: Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m. Room —. Instructor, Jean Rand.

Marxian economics—A:

Prerequisite: Principles of Communism.

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 101. Instructor, James Branch.

Wednesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 101. Instructor, Sam Goodwin.

The basic principles of the system and method of Marx and Engels and their application. Commodi-

ties, value, surplus value. Absolute and relative surplus value, money, capital, constant and variable capital, theory of wages, process of capitalist accumulation, general law of capitalist accumulation.

Marxian economics B:

Prerequisite: Marxian economics—A.

Friday, 9—10:30 p. m. Room 201. Instructor, Charles Gordon.

The distribution of surplus value, profit and price of production, commercial capital and commercial profit, interest, ground rent, development of capitalism in agriculture, crises, bourgeois theories, social democratic conceptions, Marxist theory of crises, monopoly and finance, capital and imperialism.

Leninism:

Prerequisites: Marxian economics A. History of the three Internationals.

Tuesday, 9-10:30. Room 201. Instructor, Sam Darcy, George Morris, James Branch and others.

The Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Development of imperialism and imperialist war. Decline of capitalism. Theory of proletarian Revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat; agrarian, national, and colonial questions. Problems of socialist construction. Role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat.

History of the American labor movement:

Friday, 7:20-8:50. Room 202. Instructor, Violet Orr.

The historical development of the American labor movement, its traditions and changing tactics and strategy. Colonial period and the Revolutionary War, development of trade unions, particularly after the Civil War. The imperialist war, its effects upon the American labor movement, organization and program of the Trade Union Unity League, and recent developments.

History of the three Internationals:

Prerequisite: Principles of Communism.

Wednesday, 9-10:30 p. m. Room 201. Instructor, Emmett Kirby. Preimperialist epoch of capitalism; Chartist movement. Revolution of 1848, American Civil War, Paris Commune and First International; war of 1914-18 and collapse of Second International. Russian Revolution; founding, tactics, and role of Communist International. History and tasks of American Communist Party.

History of the Russian Revolution:

Friday, 9-10:30 p. m. Room 202. Instructor, L. Thompson.

Origin of Menshevism and Bolshevism. Role of Bolshevism and Second International. Revolution of 1905, period of reaction following. The March 1917 revolution. Events leading up to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. Survey of the major stages after 1917. Study of the proletarian dictatorship in action. Leninism versus Trotskyism and other opportunist doctrines. Lessons of the Russian Revolution for the world proletariat.

National and Colonial problems:

Prerequisites: Principles of Communism.

Wednesday, 9-10:30. Room 101. Instructor, Carl Hama.

Development of capitalism in the colonies; relationship of imperialism to colonial peoples and national minorities. Agrarian colonial movements, forms of the national liberation movement and its relation to the struggle of the proletariat in imperialist countries. History and forms of the negro liberation movement in the United States.

Trade union strategy and tactics:

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 201. Instructor, Neil Hickey.

Strategy of revolutionary and reformist unions. Historical analysis of American trade union movement. Study of strike strategy, immediate tasks of the Trade Union Unity League and forms of struggle against unemployment,

rationalization, and imperialist war.

Principles of working class organization:

Prerequisite: Principles of Communism (limited to Communist Party and Y. C. L. members).

Friday, 7:20-8:50. Room 201. Instructor, Louise Todd.

Training functionaries to apply the organizational principles of working class organization, role of the party and its relation to the working class, tasks of the party nuclei, meaning and methods of mass work, and factory concentration on the basis of specific party campaigns.

History of the youth movement and program of the young Communist International:

Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m. Room 201. Instructor, Jack Olsen.

Origin and development of the revolutionary youth movement from the International Youth Conference in Berne, 1915. The Second International Youth Movement, role of Liebknecht to the First Congress of the Communist Youth International to the consolidation of the Communist youth movement since 1919. History development and tasks of the Y. C. L. in the United States.

Economics for young communist league:

Prerequisite: Principles of Communism.

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 201.

Includes the same material as main Marxian economics course with special emphasis on problems of the revolutionary youth movement in the struggle against militarism and imperialist war.

Elementary English:

Wednesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 202. Instructor, Cora Reed.

Spelling, writing, reading, and pronunciation for foreign-born workers.

Advanced English:

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 101. Instructor, K. McKee.

Sentence structure, grammar, composition.

Elementary Russian:

Tuesday, 9-10:30. Room 202. Instructor, G. Williams.

Grammar, conversation, writing, and simple reading.

Advanced Russian:

Wednesday, 9-10:30. Room 202. Instructor, Vladimir A. Tichinin.

Sentence structure, composition, advanced reading and conversation.

Evolution of arts and technics: Wednesday, 9-10:30. Instructor, K. Rexroth.

Self-defense in courts:

Friday, 9-10:30. Room 101. Instructors, Elaine Black and George Anderson (four sessions).

Capitalist court procedure, methods of self-defense, and mass support in working-class trials.

Public speaking:

Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m. Room 101. Instructor, T. Alex.

Organization of speeches, delivery, voice control, and effective agitation and propaganda.

Agitation and propaganda technique:

Tuesday, 9-10:30 p. m. Room 101. Instructors, A. Garrison and R. Casimir.

Theory and practice of effective execution of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. Slogans, leaflets, bulletins, organization of street and mass meetings, forums, demonstrations, etc.

Revolutionary journalism:

Wednesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 201. Instructor, Emmett Kirby.

Workers' correspondence, reporting, shop papers, and contradictions of the capitalist press. Feature writing, the fundamentals of newspaper make-up.

Revolutionary theater:

Friday, 7:20-8:50. Room 108. Instructor, Harold Davis.

Function of the theater in society. Analysis of the development of the theater just before the World

War; period of radicalization within the bourgeois theater, and the rise of the revolutionary theater, which is its historical successor.

Historical materialism seminar:

Prerequisites: Marxian economics and Leninism.

Friday, 4-6 p. m.

Poster work: Wednesday, 2-4 p. m. 203. Instructor, Lester Balog (six sessions).

Drawing:

Thursday, 7:20-9:30. Room 202. Instructor, Jack Roberts.

Design, poster lay-out, etc.

Still photography—elementary:

Monday, 7:20-8:50. Room 203. Instructors, P. Aller and J. Fidiham. Study and use of various types of cameras, lighting, lenses, choice and composition of revolutionary working class subjects.

Still photography—advanced:

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 203. Instructors, P. Aller and J. Fidiham. Darkroom and field practice.

Cinematography:

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 203. Instructors, Lester Balog and P. Otto. Criticism of bourgeois pictures, analysis of Soviet news reels, documentary and acted films. Montage, film production, and projection of working class news reels and films.

Hygiene and diet: Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m. Room 202. Instructor, Dr. H. F. Unsinger.

EXTENSION DIVISION

Greek workers club, 1171 Market Street. History of American labor movement: Wednesday, 8-10 p. m. Instructor, Ida Rothstein.

Needle Workers Industrial Union, 830 Market Street. Trade-union strategy and tactics: Tuesday, 8-9:30 p. m.

North Beach Workers School: Principles of Communism.

History of American labor movement.

Principles of working class organization.

Marine workers, 437 Market Street (conducted in conjunction with Marine Workers Industrial Union):

Trade-union problems. Sunday, 2-4 p. m. Instructor, Fred Moore.

Executive committee.—James

Branch, director; Esther Goodman, secretary; J. W. Weeks, publicity manager; Nell Higman, librarian; M. McNab, G. Bergman, L. Sugi, Leo Thompson, A. Palola, C. Dunning, Dr. Harold F. Unsinger, W. Randolph, G. Geoffrin.

Advisory council.—Langston Hughes, writer; Ella Winter, writer; Lincoln Steffens, writer; George Morris, editor Western Worker; Beatrice Kinkead, teacher; Anita Whitney; Dr.

M. H. Crawford; Sam Darcy, district organizer Communist Party; Benjamin Ellisberg, business agent Ornamental Plasterers Union, American Federation of Labor; Ed. Harris, Machinist Local No. 68, American Federation of Labor; Sam Diner, president Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union; Harry Jackson, coast organizer Marine Workers Industrial Union; Leo Gallagher, attorney; Neil Hickey, district organizer Trade Union Unity League.

How the Communist Party Trains Workers as Leaders

By HENRY KEAN

From the WESTERN WORKER

WITHIN recent months our party has conducted two full-time schools, the Los Angeles Training School, and the Bay Area Training School, for training and developing leading personnel. Arrangements and plans are under way for the holding of a third and final school at the end of the year.

Training and developing party comrades through such schools is one of the methods of carrying out the decisions of the leading bodies of the party on the training and bringing forward of new leading people in the party.

NEED FOR LEADING PERSONNEL

Let us turn our attention to a consideration of the question of the training of leading comrades and the conducting of full-time training schools.

Comrade Browder correctly emphasized the imperative and immediate need for high quality leading personnel in our party.

"What is the central weakness in our work of building a mass party along these principles of Lenin and Stalin?

"It is the insufficient number of political trained, technically skilled leading people, the shortage of adequately prepared officers to lead the mass army which we are recruiting." (Report to the Ninth National Convention.)

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IMPORTANCE ESPECIALLY NOW

In California the whole question of training leading personnel for our party is more important than at any time in our history.

Within the party, as we continue to

grow in strength and influence, we must have able comrades to assure the correct development of new recruits; we must have a personnel, trained and skilled, to meet the heavy demand upon our party apparatus and forces, to make our party a flexible mass party, readily capable of taking initiative in meeting new situations and leading in the struggle against reaction.

As Comrade Browder put it:

"The best policy in the world turns out in life to be no better than the people who must execute it, who must apply it to the thousand variable conditions of daily life. Application of policy among the masses is first of all a problem of securing a high quality leading personnel." (Report to the Ninth National Convention.)

WHAT KIND OF FORCES?

What kind of people must we develop for leadership? We must pay close attention to our trade union comrades and comrades from the shops.

Special care must be taken to develop our women comrades. Leading Negro comrades, from the doubly exploited Negro people, must be brought forward and given the greatest encouragement and training. Also we must bring forward and encourage the development of members from national groups like the Chinese, Japanese, Philipinos, and Mexicans.

Finally, effort must be devoted to the training and building our youth comrades in the Young Communist League. It is from these decisive elements that we must draw for training in the school.

The criteria in selecting and training leading comrades must be, as enumerated by Comrade Dimitroff, secretary of the Communist International:

"First, absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, loyalty to the party, tested in the face of the enemy in battle, in prison, in court.

"Second, the closest possible contact with the masses. . . .

"Third, ability independently to find one's bearing and not be afraid of assuming responsibility in taking decisions. . . .

"Fourth, discipline and Bolshevik hardening in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from Bolshevik line." (Report to Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.)

Previous schools functioned as party units, giving the students an elementary theoretical training, including such topics as party organization; the trade union movement, its past history and what is happening today; imperialism, fascism, and war; the Negro question; problems of women as laborers; and the role of youth.

Leading comrades in these particular fields were used as instructors. A special feature of the schools was the use of the group study method, whereby preparation, study and discussion was conducted in squads of five people. Running full time for three weeks, these two schools "graduated" 54 comrades who have gone back into their respective sections where they are carrying on much more effective work than before they attended the schools.

The Great Fallacy

By EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

THE results of the November elections have given rise, in some quarters, to a belief that Communism is a negligible influence in the United States and hence its doctrines and activities should not be taken too seriously. The Communist vote, it is argued, was something around 60,000, which represents an insignificant fraction of the 45,000,000 ballots cast. Therefore, it would appear that the American people have definitely relegated that menace to the limbo of outworn and exaggerated issues.

This method of reasoning is based on a dangerous misapprehension that might easily lead to a growing indifference respecting the greatest peril to Christian civilization that has arisen since the Mohammedan invasion of Europe. Those who now adopt the attitude referred to fall into an error of logic called "*non sequitur*." Because the electorate enthusiastically endorsed President Roosevelt and ignored the charges of "Communist" levelled at him, these amateur logicians triumphantly conclude that the danger does not exist at all. Without in any way intending to resurrect the political passions which so frequently obscure important and permanent truths, Catholic editors should warn readers against the shallow sophistry that would seek to entice them away from Catholic teaching and Catholic solidarity.

The sovereign Pontiff, Pius XI, has declared Communism in all its forms, in all its degrees, to be "*the greatest menace of our times*." Since 1924 the Holy Father has consistently and uncompromisingly pointed out its true character, its anti-Christian objectives, and its tyrannous disregard of the most sacred rights of conscience. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has recently published a valuable pamphlet, "Why Catholics Condemn Communism," containing the utterances of Pius XI since 1924 on the seriousness of the Communist program throughout the world. No thoughtful man can meditate on that convincing collection of authoritative pronouncements without concern and intellectual agreement.

Catholic leaders in European countries have faithfully supported the Catholic attitude as voiced by the Holy Father and in a succeeding number of this BULLETIN we shall record another consensus of opinion contained in pastorals of the French hierarchy. On November 20 of this year the American hierarchy issued a forceful warning, which we have reproduced in Part III of this issue of our BULLETIN. The Archbishops and Bishops composing the Administrative Board of the Conference warn the Church in America that "*there is no place for indifference or neutrality. The forces of atheism and neo-paganism, with their offspring, Communism and despotism, are attempting to rob life of all that is spiritual and supernatural.*" In this joint statement the Bishops are saying collectively what many individual Catholic prelates have proclaimed for years; Cardinals O'Connell, Hayes, Dougherty, and Mundelein; Archbishop Curley, Bishop Noll, Bishop Peterson, and numerous others whose utterances on Communism, if collated, would fill many issues of the BULLETIN. The *Ecclesia docens* in America cannot be unanimously and simultaneously wrong.

THE CATHOLIC ATTITUDE

If there be found a rare Catholic who holds a contrary opinion, he should be patiently instructed on the true character and sworn purposes of international Communism. It should be pointed out that Communism is not merely an economic movement for the removal of social injustices. If it were only that, the Catholic Church would be unequivocally on its side in the present world crisis. But Communism is not merely that; it is a heresy which denies and attacks the very cornerstone of the Catholic religion,—belief in the existence of God. Such atheism, with its concomitant attack on revealed religion and Catholic morality in particular, is inseparable from the economic demands of the Communist Party of the United States. No temporary or transparent ruse, such as a "United Front," should deceive in-

formed Catholics. To temporize with this common enemy or to minimize his importance is tantamount to saying that the Church should wait until error becomes formidable before we mobilize against it. Such misconception of duty has led to tragic catastrophes in the past. It is an attitude of mind, moreover, that is welcomed by the Communist and his allies who were advised long ago by Lenin to cultivate such pseudo-liberalism,—until the hour of extermination arrives. Against that device the Sovereign Pontiff and students of Bolshevik tactics have often warned the Church and the state.

THE TRUE SITUATION

If the Communist Party of the United States is a bare handful of 51,000, it must be remembered that they are not 51,000 members of an insignificant political party, but constitute the American phalanx of a worldwide attack on the Catholic Church. They are fanatical missionaries of the grossest form of materialism and irreligion yet devised by enemies of God. They serve as the general headquarters through which pass instructions to affiliated groups of free thinkers of the militant type. These forces, forever sapping at the groundwork of Christianity, now have a powerful and well-organized central office in Moscow, protected and fostered by the Soviet government. A "World Convention of the Godless" has been announced, to convene in Moscow on February 9, 1937, for the purpose of coordinating the attack on Christianity. The head of the Third International, Dimitrov, has publicly proclaimed that "all religions, but particularly Christianity, are the worst enemy of Communism and must therefore be ruthlessly destroyed." If the nations of Christendom had been alert to the realities in 1919 when the Third International was founded in Moscow, that agency would not now be so powerful that it can endanger the peace of the world. A new International of Atheism will be launched in the same city on February 9 of next year. It is a dis-

service to religion for any man to confuse the issue by minimizing the scope, the practices, and the stealth of any Communist unit, whether 51,000 in number or 2,000,000 in strength. Wise and pregnant is the old Latin saying: "Resist the beginnings of evil. Too late you reach for medicines when sores have festered deep because of long delay."

UN SOUND GUIDANCE

Equally unsound is the argument of those who consider American institutions so stable and so democratic as to defy both Communism and Fascism. That is a comforting complacency, but it can never be the policy of leaders charged with the responsibility of government. Public health officials are quick to check the first manifestations of dangerous epidemics; the fire department will respond even to a false alarm, so pitiless and ruthless is fire when out of control. Nothing is lost if there is no conflagration. Everything is lost if there is one which is ignored. The one that is extinguished is sufficient justification for the perpetual vigilance. He would be a reckless administrator who would claim that his institution, above all others, is immune from danger, and he would be an unsafe guide in morals, ethics, and economics who would popularize our supposed national immunity from social upheaval in an era of universal crisis.

Whence derives the alleged exemption? The public record of the past 20 years proves the exact contrary.

There has taken place a profound modification in our previous way of thinking favorite thoughts and obstinately nursing certain pleasant delusions. Too many uncritical Americans believed that the United States, owing to our geographical isolation and enormous natural resources, were immune from the economic vicissitudes that had brought depressions and collapse elsewhere. We now know how untenable that hypothesis proved to be and what a dangerous premise it can be in formulating national policy. Experienced observers of human conduct foresaw the opposite. They knew that there was a "lag" in the arrival of social and economic phenomena on these shores, just as there is a certain lag, or meas-

urable slowness to be considered in an electric current or in sound waves.

AMERICA'S EXPERIENCE

First, we assumed that the European war would not affect America to the extent of involving us in military operations. But in due time we felt its inevitable impact and were drawn into the vortex. Then, the peace signed, we saw the nations of Europe pass through a cycle of moral and economic exhaustion,—mounting debts, unbalanced budgets, unemployment, currency inflation, bread lines, social unrest, revolutions, and dictatorships. We, on a distant continent, confidently believed those successive social upheavals would not cross the Atlantic and hence we took but few precautions to safeguard our national economy. The sequel is too well known and too painful to need rehearsal here. It must suffice to say that one by one those tidal waves broke over our supposedly invulnerable ramparts,—with the exception of the final surge of revolution and dictatorship. These were prevented only by heroic measures, by a mobilization of resources, both private and public, such as the world has rarely seen, and by a sense of solidarity, self-sacrifice, and organized democracy. The cost has been staggering. But it may not have been too high if we have learned that humility which is the beginning of wisdom.

It is not on the 51,000 registered American Communists that Communism counts. Its leaders rely on the 2,000,000 friends in affiliated organizations, on the sympathetic idealist whose intelligence is not always equal to his emotional impulses, on the growing number of school teachers, professors, writers, and subtle propagandists who are trained to play ceaselessly on the social resentments of the masses until legitimate economic complaints are transformed into class hatred. The Communist party in America is only the leaven that hopes to embitter the masses. Social justice is their slogan. But class warfare is their aim. How these agitators are trained and prepared for their subversive task is outlined in a separate article in this issue.

Behind the Communist Party of the United States stands a powerful for-

eign government dedicated to the destruction of Christianity and the abolition of the democratic form of government guaranteed to every American citizen by Article IV, section 4, of our constitution. Nothing which the master strategist elaborates in Moscow and which his agent executes in the United States can be matter of indifference to Catholics in America.

AN EASY FALLACY

He who computes the forces of Communism arithmetically and arrives at the negligible number of votes cast by Communists last month is either ignorant or malicious. The malicious should be exposed. The ignorant should be taught.

One lesson in that course on Communist tactics should recall that the Communist party frankly advocated a strong Farmer-Labor party as the best spearhead for the penetration of Marxism into agriculture and industry. The Farmer-Labor vote was 300,000. Party leaders realize that the label "Communist" is not as yet acceptable to the American democracy, hence other and less obnoxious groups are endorsed for the unsuspecting. In their jargon, Communists often advocate "a gradualistic approach" and in their tactics it is clearly laid down that all sympathetic groups are to be cultivated and encouraged. Then, by the boring-from-within process, these organizations are to be swung over to outright Communism, either by persuasion or by seizure of leadership. During the transitional phase of the Russian Revolution, Lenin practised that typical opportunism by promising a Democratic Douma,—i.e., a constituent assembly,—free speech, secret ballot, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of religion. But when his hour came, he simply dispersed the constituent assembly at the point of a bayonet and inaugurated the despotism now prevailing in Soviet Russia. Yet during that historic interval from March to November, 1917, he was so defeated in one test of power that he received not 60,000 votes, but a crushing reversal that sent him flying to exile in Finland. But he returned and routed his conqueror.

It would be supreme folly, then, to relax our efforts because of the public performance of Communists in the recent elections. Indeed, it is not outside the range of probability that the decline in their voting strength may be

directly traceable to the aroused and better-organized Catholic counter-attack. The battle as yet is in the skirmish stage, on the outposts of ideas and ideals. If it is lost there for democracy, the next phase will be violence and the

barricades. The Communist strength is neither proved nor disproved on any given Tuesday in any one November. No student of Communism as it operates will fall into that easy fallacy of oversimplification.

Time to Press Forward!

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party, on the Election Results.

Although typically verbose, it is a valuable document demonstrating the sworn policy of Communist leaders to increase class consciousness in the United States as a prelude to class warfare.

SUNDAY WORKER, November 22, 1936

THE American people gave a hard blow to the reactionary forces in the November 3 election. Despite the return to power of Roosevelt and his middle-of-the-way policy, and the presence within the Democratic party of powerful reactionary groups, the forces advocating democracy scored a victory which is a setback to the Hearst-Liberty League-Wall Street drive toward Fascism and to all extreme reactionaries. The main task confronting the toiling masses of the country is to take advantage of the favorable outcome of elections by pressing forward aggressively for the satisfaction of their immediate economic and political demands.

The campaign and the election results clearly show the sharpening of class lines in the United States. On the one side stood the great mass of the voting population. On the other stood an unprecedented concentration of organized wealth and reaction. Never before was the political struggle so much a question of the poor and downtrodden against the rich and the oppressors. The election struggle sharpened class alignments, and the check to reaction administered by the forces of democracy will speed up the differentiation of the population along class lines.

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The defeat of Landon was due to a growing political and class awareness on the part of the workers and farmers and large sections of the middle class. They saw through and rejected the red-baiting campaign of Hearst and the Republican party. They did not succumb to the unbridled demagoguery of the Republicans and their stooges, Coughlin, Townsend, and Lemke. They saw that the issue was progress or

reaction, and they voted in overwhelming Wall Street, for progress and for a living standard against reaction, against a better life for the people.

Higher wages, shorter hours, the right to organize and real collective bargaining.

Real social security with full protection, or jobs for the unemployed.

Protection for the farmers from evictions and foreclosures, with prices for farm products sufficient to meet the cost of production, with a satisfactory margin of profit for the farmers.

Complete equality for the Negro people, with the elimination of persecution, segregation, jim-crowism, and lynching—the enforcement of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the United States Constitution.

A system of taxation which will take the burdens off the mass of the people, particularly the elimination of sales taxes and the like, and the placing of the tax burden on those able to pay—the rich.

Protection of the people from the assault of the monopolies on their living standards.

Legislation beneficial to the women and youth of the country, giving them those guarantees of economic security and equality which for them are burning issues.

The adoption by the United States Government of such policies in the international area as will make it an active, aggressive force for peace, co-operating with the Soviet Union and other nations striving for the maintenance of peace, against the war moves of the aggressor nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Definite measures to curb the powers

of the Supreme Court, once and for all preventing it from nullifying or hampering the execution of social legislation beneficial to the people.

These are the needs and hopes that the people voted for. But these hopes cannot be realized without mass demands upon the Government and independent struggles for these demands.

This must now be done without delay. Now is the time for the people to press forward and strike decisive blows at the forces of reaction.

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The only guarantee that the mandate of the people will be realized in life is through the independent organization of the people; through the building of more powerful trade unions, particularly in the mass production industries; and through the organization of labor's forces politically in an all-inclusive farmer-labor party. Only thus will the people be able to carry forward the struggle for their aims.

In fact, unless the greatest haste is shown in building the farmer-labor movement, uniting all progressive forces, the way will be left open for the building of a reactionary, a Fascist movement of the type of the Coughlin-Lemke Union Party movement which served as a cloak for Landon in his last campaign.

* * * * *

The workers must use their election unity to press forward on all fronts and, in the first place, to organize the unorganized in the mass production industries. They must rally to the support of the steel drive, whose success will strengthen the entire American people and the farmer-labor movement. They must take advantage of the decisive defeat of Hutcheson and the

other Liberty League agents in the ranks of labor to work for a united and powerful American Federation of Labor, based on industrial unionism and the widest trade union democracy.

In the elections, the movement for a Farmer-Labor party, as distinct from the left forces within the Democratic party, became more clear. On a national scale, Labor's Non-Partisan League already gave a certain independent character to the political activities of the labor movement. In New York this expressed itself through the American Labor party as a movement separate from that of the old parties. In other states (California, Washington, etc.), though working through the old parties, the progressive forces, labor, farmers, and middle class groups, already gave to their movement an independent character.

In several states (Minnesota, Wisconsin) the forces of the people, already organized themselves into completely independent political movement, Farmer-Labor in character, and more clearly expressing the people's demands. These movements already represent the unity of the trade unions, farmers' organizations and middle class groups in a federation of Farmer-Labor political forces. In these cases the Communist party gave its support to the building of these movements and to the Farmer-Labor candidates.

The overwhelming and unprecedented victory of the movements in Minnesota and Wisconsin are living proof of the value of the people's front. They show that an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor movement is the road to victory. These movements were subjected to the most vicious attacks from the right. The reactionaries tried to frighten the masses with their red-baiting, pointing to the support given by the Communist party to these movements. The victories won in Wisconsin and Minnesota are proof that large sections of the American people favor a united, all-inclusive people's movement of trade unionists, of farmers, of middle class progressives, of Communists and Socialists, in the fight against reaction and for the needs of the people.

The overwhelming sweep against reaction creates favorable conditions for the advance of the forces of progress

and peace, against the forces of Fascism and war. Now is the time to build a genuine people's movement for peace. Now is the time to build a broad American National Peace Congress of all genuine peace forces. Now is the time to work for collaboration with the peace policies of the Soviet Union and the forces of peace throughout the world.

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In contrast to the Communist party, which recognized that the fight for Socialism was inseparably connected with the fight against reaction in the 1936 elections and therefore concentrated on the defeat of the Hearst-Landon reactionaries, the Socialist party incorrectly declared that the immediate issue in the campaign was that of Socialism versus capitalism, thereby playing directly into the hands of the Hearst-Liberty League-Landon forces. Norman Thomas said that "the immediate demand of the Socialists is Socialism." The Socialist party enthroned within its own party the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and in its policies accepted to an increasing degree those disruptive, wrecking policies which are harmful to the whole labor movement, as well as to the Socialist party itself.

The Socialist party, by adopting a reformist and sectarian policy, failed to contribute toward the realignment of progressive forces and suffered disastrously as a result, as seen in the catastrophic drop of its vote. The Socialist party weakened its relationship with the labor movement and with all of the progressive forces of the country.

The crisis now existing in the Socialist party following the election can only be ended when the Socialist party rids itself of the Trotskyite disrupters, makes a united front with the Communist party, and aids in the furthering of the people's movement against reaction, Fascism and war, and in the movement for an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor party.

As a result of its election policies, the influence of the Communist party in the trade unions, in the ranks of the progressives, among the Farmer-Laborites is greater than ever before. We have been and will continue to be an active and growing force furthering the differentiation among the masses, ad-

vancing the movement toward a Farmer-Labor party!

Large sections of the people realize that we have contributed in the way of unity of the broad masses of the workers, farmers, and progressive groups.

After the elections, the Communist party, all its members, all its sympathizers have the task of pushing forward on every front with the objective of realizing those aims listed above. It is our task to promote the organization of all progressive forces independently, the building of the Farmer-Labor party as a coalition of the trade unions, the farmers, the Negro people, the Communists, the Socialists, and of all progressive groups.

On the trade union front it is the task of our party to help in the organization of the unorganized, to win their demands for higher wages, for shorter hours, for the recognition of their unions, for the right of collective bargaining, and to work for a united, powerful American Federation of Labor.

* * * * *

The Communist party fully recognizes its obligations to the American working class and to the people as a whole. It will continue to fight with all its power for the progress, happiness, freedom and prosperity of the American people. It will continue with redoubled energy and strength, derived from the increased confidence of the masses, directed for the people's front, for the Farmer-Labor party, for progress and peace, for the speeding up of the day when the American people will abolish capitalism and take the road to Socialism.

The ranks of our party are growing. Greater numbers will now be recruited. We will carry forward the banner of Communism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with increased strength, with the knowledge that we have the growing confidence of the masses.

Forward under the banner of the Communist party! Into the Farmer-Labor party, the consolidated forces of progress against reaction! Forward under the banner of Communism—the Americanism of the twentieth century!

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.,

WILLIAM FOSTER, *Chairman.*
EARL BROWDER, *General Sec'y.*



Part II

World Survey



Since the attention of the entire world has been focused on Spain these days, a substantial portion of our World Survey is devoted this month to Communism in that country.

Communist Operations in Spain 1931-1936

Synopsized by PAUL YATES, S.J., Woodstock College

THE distinguished English journalist, G. M. Godden, has written a valuable article in the *Dublin Review* for October 1936, entitled "Communist Operations in Spain; 1931-36." The article traces the evolution of the present crisis in Spain, showing us the constant interest and active encouragement of Moscow, manifested in their declaration of policy in regard to Spain, and their actual intervention in the affairs of that country. A few excerpts will be sufficient to lay bare the workings of the Communist machine.

During the period of 1931-32, the very time during which the new Spanish Constitution was drawn up and promulgated, the XII Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was held in Moscow. The theses adopted included the statement that "the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis are being created at a rapid pace in Spain." The elaboration of this statement is worth quoting in full, with the proviso that statements made at a Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are rapidly translated into action. As Lenin himself said: "Our theory is not a dogma, but a manual of action." Here is the Soviet "manual of action" for Spain in 1932:

"The growth of the elements of a revolutionary crisis finds expression in the impetus given to the economic and political strikes of the proletariat, in the budding revolutionary movement of the peasantry, in the mass movement of the petty-bourgeoisie against the monarchy (i. e., students' demonstrations &c.), in the intensification of the national revo-

lutionary movement in Catalonia and Biscay, in the disintegration of the army, and the confusion which reigns in the ranks of the ruling classes and their party."

This is a comprehensive manual of action for carrying out, ultimately, the "task that now confronts all the Communist Parties (i. e., in all countries) of preparing the working class for the decisive battles for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," especially by "concrete application of the United Front." Further, in the lengthy report made by Kuusinen to the XII Plenum, special mention was made of Spain as illustrating the desired conversion of economic strikes "into general revolutionary struggles," to an extent that "the Spanish Proletariat has never witnessed before." Kuusinen declared that what was happening in these struggles was, above all, "the further development of the Spanish Revolution."

In Spain, during those years after the fall of the Monarchy, usual Communist activities were going on with full force. Peasants were marching under the Red Flag; riots, burnings, murders, propaganda, and other acts typical of Communist activity were taking place. At Sollana, a Soviet Republic was proclaimed; in Seville a general strike was declared requiring stringent measures for its suppression, and in Madrid the Minister for Home Affairs announced the receipt of £50,000 as a "subsidy for the revolt," while stating that the conspiracy had been organized "abroad," in other words, by the Headquarters of International Communism.

In March 1932 the "Republican" Government of Spain allowed a Com-

munist Congress to meet in Seville; while during February and March special lectures in excellent Spanish were transmitted by wireless from Moscow, explaining various aspects of Soviet policy. By June, even the cautious *Times* correspondent admits, in a message from Madrid, "evidence continues to accumulate that the Spanish Republic is being made the victim of a vast conspiracy against law and order . . . in the background there is reason to believe the existence of clandestine and powerful forces."

The record for Spain during 1932 fully justifies the claim of the XII Plenum that "The revolutionary crisis is growing unevenly, but everywhere there is a growth of the revolutionary upsurge," and again, "the economic struggle of the proletariat is assuming more and more revolutionary character."

Again, following another period of bloodshed and rioting, the *Times* correspondent admits that "subversive propaganda was running rife and apparently gaining strength, and encouraging elements of disorder to resort to violence." He then gives us an interview with Andres Nin, an outstanding leader of the Communist movement. Said Comrade Nin:

"We began first with an educational campaign, and now we are engaged in organizing Workers' Soviets in anticipation of the crucial moment when the Workers must be the first to arrive on the scene and to seize power . . . we undertook to group the masses around the symbols of democracy, such symbols as they could understand, to give the mass illusions . . . we organized political juntas which in Spain have a traditional

significance, and *which at the right moment could be converted into Soviets.*"

Comrade Nin added that he and his colleagues sought to implant ideas which would lead to power being placed in the hands of the masses and of youth. In other words, Trotsky's lieutenant was faithfully carrying out in Spain the Leninist policy of "All Power to the Soviet." Spain is a poor country and it will be questioned how the small Communist Party of Spain, numbering less than 10,000 in 1933, could finance propaganda on the scale indicated by these despatches, and by the results witnessed from 1934 to 1936. The answer is indicated in the financial reports of the Communist International which admitted an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million pounds at par (£240,000) for the year 1931, and, by the English Home Office report which showed that in one year £27,900 was disbursed in England by the Communist Party of Great Britain, of which sum at least £10,300 was derived from payments of £5 Bank of England notes made by a bank in Moscow.

Throughout 1934 the Communist Party of Spain was organizing the new tactical policy of the United Front. The XIII Plenum had already called on "all Sections (i. e., the Communist Party of each country) to fight for the realization of a United Militant Front."

In December 1934 the Soviet organization for the world-wide support of revolution, in Moscow, known as M. O. P. R., began a special campaign for the financial help of the Spanish revolutionaries. "The campaign," wrote the *Times*, "is in full swing in Moscow and in Leningrad, and is apparently being extended to all industrial areas." The method of raising this financial aid is by collecting "voluntary" taxes from the Workers,

factory hands and such like. It is not only being conducted in Moscow, but the word has been passed to all other countries to join in to aid the suffering Spanish brethren.

In summing up the events of Spain's "Red October of 1934" the Communist International, while frankly admitting temporary defeat, concludes on a note of triumph:

"The events that took place represent, not the end of the developed struggle for power for Soviets, but only its beginning . . . the idea which the Spanish Proletariat has been lacking for years has penetrated at last into the minds of the masses, namely that the struggle for Soviet Power can be their only aim. This idea which has taken hold of the masses has become a tremendous force."

The newspapers and platforms of Europe are crowded with writers and speakers demanding help and sympathy for the Communists, Syndicalist, and Anarchist forces in Spain on the plea that these forces are fighting heroically for the Spanish "Democratic" Constitution. Nothing could be further from the truth. The plea for "Spanish Democracy" is the Trojan Horse of Dimitrov, Secretary General, who, at the VII World Congress of the Communist International, concluded his rhetorical description of the fall of Troy with the words: "We revolutionary workers, it seems to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics." In the opening address of this famous Congress it was also stated: "The Soviet Union," not, be it noted, the Communist International, "remains as the basis and support of the World Revolution."

The VII Congress proceeded to deal with the new world policy of the extended "United Front." In this con-

nection the special comment on the Communist Party in Spain is illuminating:

"The Communist Party in Spain has become a compact and mass party steeled in the fight. . . . the Communists in Spain not only fought in the front ranks at the barricades, but also after the defeat organized a United Front of all the Proletarians, in order to create a firm foundation for future victories."

It was Dimitrov who elaborated and defined the new policy of the United Front, quoting Lenin: "Fifteen years ago Lenin called on us to focus all our attention on 'searching out forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution.' It may be that, in a number of countries, the *United Front Government* will prove to be one of the most important transitional forms."

That the United Front policy has taken hold in Spain since 1935 may be gathered from the following. Jesus Hernandez, Minister of Education in the Caballero Government, was able to report in June 1936:

"The United Front has been organized in a thousand different forms and the driving force behind the whole movement is the Communist Party, which, working illegally, has managed to imbue the broad masses with the idea that only through a United Front will the workers of Spain be able to defend their bread and liberty."

Following the citation of a number of incidents of the usual order, such as riotings, murders and the like, the author concludes on a note of warning to other Governments of the world, priding themselves on the impossibility of the fate of Spain ever befalling them.

The Spanish Warning

By G. M. GODDEN

From THE CATHOLIC MIND, October 8, 1936

SUPPORTERS of "United Fronts," whether in Ireland, in England, in France, or in Spain, will find a useful object lesson in the events in Spain since the third week of July. The Spanish *Frente Popular* assumed all power this year in Spain, after the elections held in the middle of February, and it was announced in March that

* This and subsequent reference to *Daily Worker* means the Communist organ in England.

the Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues in Spain were to fuse into "one united mass revolutionary youth organization, sympathetically affiliated to the Young Communist International" (*Daily Worker*, April 4, 1936).* In this same month one of the first acts of the new *Frente Popular*, that is the *United Front Government*, was to release from prison 30,000 prisoners, the greater part of

them district, union, or Communist cell ringleaders.

Early in March many towns in Spain were suffering from disorders, rioting and arson. By the end of March a correspondent from Madrid wrote:

A Spaniard's flat may be entered and wrecked intentionally or mistakenly by passing demonstrators, and he may be praying at a shrine and suddenly be ordered, at the pistol point, to cease

his devotions and flee. . . . If he is a cattle breeder he may find peasants ploughing his pasturage one fine morning, because a neighboring *Casa del Pueblo* has told him to go ahead. If a shopkeeper, his establishment may be pillaged or burnt down because his political preferences are not liked, or because somebody has denounced him to a secret committee. He may be shot down by a gunman, some hired assassin, or merely a political enthusiast emboldened by the knowledge that he has nine chances out of ten of escaping unmolested, and a tenth chance of being pardoned eventually. Or he may be imprisoned for a long period merely under suspicion (*Times*, March 26, 1936).

It would appear that Sr. Sotelo, the leader who was himself to fall a victim of the assassin's bullets, the murderers being members of the *Frente Popular* police force, was justified when he warned Spain that after a victory in the February elections for the United Front "there would wave over Spain the Red flag, the symbol of the destruction of Spain's past, her ideals, and her honor." The above description from Madrid, of life under the Red flag of the *Frente Popular*, might stand, sentence for sentence, for a description of life in Leningrad or in Moscow under the Red flag of the Government of Lenin and Stalin. It is a condition entirely favorable to the work of the Communist International; and that amazingly efficient organization was not slow in perceiving its opportunity.

Early in April some thirty Communists left Moscow for Spain. They were largely young Spaniards, who had spent periods varying from six to eighteen months in Soviet Russia, undergoing training in revolutionary practice. Prominent members of the Executive Committees of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions gave them a sendoff, and exhorted these young missionaries of Bolshevism to follow up the recent successes in Spain by applying the methods they had been studying in Soviet Russia. It is interesting to note that the Executive Committee of the Communist International, sitting in Moscow, was occupied in April in laying down lines for immediate action in Spain, including the confiscation of land and other property belonging to the Church: "The churches, monasteries, and Jesuits must be stripped of their wealth and discredited in the eyes of the people." Nationalist aspirations were also to be satisfied by granting immediate inde-

pendence to Catalans, Basques, and Galicians; Moscow understands perfectly how to apply the policy of "divide and conquer."

The months of March and April in Spain saw abundant fruits of the pure doctrine of Moscow put into "immediate action." Catholic schools were closed "by the will of the people." Smoking ruins of great churches and of humble hermitages sent up their incense of martyrdom. In Elche the priceless figures and accessories of the Elche mystery play were burnt; and three churches and a Convent of the Poor Clares went up in smoke. Never again will the Elche mystery be seen, that mystery "so beautiful in itself and in its intention . . . a spectacle worth going to Spain to see." At Huebla the parish church was fired, and the organ, one of the oldest and largest in the world, was destroyed. The White Cross of Granada was smashed to atoms. At Cadiz four churches and six convents or schools were set on fire or sacked, statues being thrown into the streets. At Logrono, it was reported, two churches and four convents were looted. In Madrid three churches were set on fire. By the middle of April a list was presented to the Spanish Parliament of 106 churches set on fire, of which fifty-six were completely destroyed. In May it was reported in Parliament that no less than nine churches and schools were set on fire, in Madrid, on May 4th; and it was stated that nuns had been assaulted in the streets. Three months of *Frente Popular* government certainly justified the comment: "Bolshevism has been trying a new weapon in Spain. That weapon is the 'United Front.' Its success has surprised even its inventors. . . . This new Bolshevik policy of the 'United Front' has put Spain at the mercy of 3,000,000 Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, and Communists."

Meanwhile, during the fatal Spring months, what were the Communist comments on events in Spain? In February the Anarchist Trade Unions in the Spanish industrial area of Catalonia voted for "Revolutionary Unity" with the Socialist Trade Union Federation of Spain. This achievement was announced in the Communist *Daily Worker* as "Spanish Step to Unity." In March the same Communist organ told its English readers that 60,000 agricultural workers, "led by a Commission of Communist deputies," had taken over the entire Spanish province of Badajoz, and that "everywhere throughout Spain the Red Flag is making a triumphal appearance" (*Daily Worker*, February 4, 1936, and April 3, 1936). Will our readers please note that, when if ever a "United Front" government should

rule in Ireland, it is *not* the Irish flag, but the Red flag of International Atheist Communism that will make its "triumphal appearance" throughout Ireland. In April the *Daily Worker* was declaring that "News from Spain gets bigger and better. . . . Nothing like it has been seen in Western Europe before. . . . Spain moves forward towards the free, prosperous and peaceful Workers' Republic" (*Daily Worker*, April 20, 1936). Two months later this was the report, given to the Spanish Parliament, of the condition of the "bigger and better" Spain, that Spain "prosperous and peaceful," promised by the architects of the Spanish United Front:

160 churches totally destroyed.

251 churches damaged by fire and assault.

28 towns with churches closed by the Mayors.

69 Catholic centers destroyed.

113 general strikes.

228 partial strikes.

10 newspaper offices destroyed.

1,556 persons killed and wounded.

One item of the Communist claim has certainly been justified in the four months, from February to June, of the Spanish United Front, the *Frente Popular*, Government—"Nothing like it has been seen in Western Europe before."

It did not need an expert in political history to realize that Spain was heading straight for the natural outcome of the so-called "United Front" policy, Civil War. When the national uprising of the true Spain came, in July, the acts of the supporters of the "peaceful Workers' Republic" showed very conclusively, to the whole world, what manner of men and women had been attempting to seize control over Spain.

Here are a very few instances, selected from accounts of eyewitnesses, and responsible correspondents. The first weapons used by the United Front Government when the civil war broke out were an authorization to the Labor Unions to call general strikes, together with a mobilization of the "Marxist Militia," not, be it noticed, a National or Spanish Militia. The first broadcast to be issued by the "liberator" forces concluded "Spain is saved. Long live Spain"; the men who sent that message over their country would have no use for a "Marxist Militia." The crew of the battleship *Jaime Primo* mutinied on the high seas, and on wireless instructions from Madrid, killed the captain, the two other officers and seven sailors and threw the bodies overboard, thus following precisely the example set to all sailors of all countries in the famous Bolshevik film "Battleship Potemkin,"

a film which has been shown to the workers and intellectuals of two hemispheres. The film journal *Close Up* described how "Battleship Potemkin" had even been shown in the smallest and cheapest of the cinemas in the Argentine seaports, where "it must have been seen by every worker of every nationality, by every sailor ashore. It was amusing to hear the unanimous applause as officer after officer on the *Potemkin* was set upon and hurled overboard." That was written in 1930. Communist propagandists take long views; and are quite content when Spanish sailors hurl their officers overboard in 1936.

On the third day of the fighting a reign of terror was reported from Madrid, which was not surprising, as the United Front Government, destined to bring peace and prosperity, was issuing army rifles and ammunition to anyone who would use them on the side of the *Frente Popular*. In Malaga hotels were sacked, and the main shopping center (by way of increasing prosperity?) was razed to the ground. The "initial successes" of the United Front at Barcelona were promptly followed by what an eyewitness described as "widespread burning of churches." The eyewitness, proceeding from Bar-

celona to the French frontier, wrote: "Everywhere they (the United Front Government supporters) were burning churches. At Vich, seat of a Bishopric, we were told that some forty churches, chapels, and convents were destroyed, including the Cathedral. At Barcelona itself every church in the city except the Cathedral was fired; the twelfth century church of Santa Ana and the fourteenth century church of Santa Maria del Mar were destroyed; in one church a priest was burnt alive; three Jesuit Fathers were beheaded, their heads being carried through the streets on salvers; nuns were stripped of their clothes and thrown into the streets. The mob paraded the streets of the town wearing the robes of ecclesiastical authorities. Hundreds of motor cars and lorries loaded with Government forces and civilians, bristling with revolvers, carbines, and machine guns, raced through the Barcelona streets, in those terrible days of July; and as their occupants raised their clenched fist in the Communist salute the crowd responded in like manner and laughed."

This same eyewitness concluded his record: "After nightfall I made my way through crooked streets to where the great church of Santa Maria del Mar was burning. After the Cathedral

it is the largest church in Barcelona. Through its great porch the blazing interior could be seen. Flames licked through its rose window, and through openings in its towers, curling upward about them, and against the flames could be seen the silhouette of the statues adorning its façade. A small and nonchalant crowd of men, women and children stood about it."

To a Christian onlooker the spectacle of the great church in flames would be less terrible than that of the souls of these complacent onlookers, drugged with Marxist poison. The promoters of the "United Front" promised Spain peace and prosperity in a "Workers' Republic." The *Frente Popular* was indeed established; but its gifts to Spain are murder, arson, sacrilege, blasphemies, hunger, terror, complete breakdown of law and order, civil war. Into these things Spain found herself immersed before she realized what was happening. The sacrilege and horror of Barcelona has been repeated in town after town. "The people have been deceived by Soviet agents," declared the liberators of Spain, "the people have been ignorant of what has been going on, on their doorstep."

An Exposition of Communistic Propaganda at Rome

By JOSEPH COSTANZO, S.J.

Synopsis of an article in the CIVILTA CATTOLICA for October 17, 1936

AN astounding phenomenon confronts us to-day. After two decades of ruthless Communist experiment in Russia, responsible for many millions of deaths, by slaughter and starvation, accountable for the countless oppressed languishing in Soviet prisons or deported to forced labor on the island of Solovki, Siberia, and other inhabitable regions, we are aghast at the successful diffusion of Communist propaganda among the masses of all peoples. We find it more incredible when we notice that the victims in greatest numbers have been not the nobles nor the rich of the past Tsarist régime but the laborers and peasants.

This paradox, the *Civiltà Cattolica* attributes to three causes: "the cunning and diabolical audacity of the Central propagandists; the crass and supine ignorance of the masses; the silence and inactivity more or less culpable, but certainly thoughtless, of those in a position to provide effectively." This explanation becomes more evident in the light of the recent exposition of authentic documents of Communist propaganda, held in the

vicinity of the Russian Pontifical College and organized by Father Joseph Ledit, S.J., director of "*Lettres de Rome*." There is laid bare in endless numbers journals, reviews, pamphlets, manifestos, books, librettos, periodicals, and posters, in all languages, filled with subversive Communist tenets. Horrible blasphemies are cast at God, Christ Jesus, the Virgin Mother, and the saints, all depicted in caricature; shameless lies are levelled against the Church, the Vicar of Christ, and the priesthood. Impudent falsifications of history, a shocking immorality and obscenity openly portrayed or insinuated fill the pages. The *Civiltà Cattolica* aptly describes the collection as an "infernal muster" of Communist propaganda. The mass of godless literature is adapted to all classes and conditions of people, the better to reach all of them in the cities and villages, in the homes and in the streets, in the schools and universities of all nations. Specifically, among the publications in the different languages are: in Spanish, *La Correspondencia*; in German, *Rundschau*; in English, *International Press*;

in French, *Correspondence and Terre nouvelle*. On the cover sheet of the latter is imprinted a large cross with the Communist symbols, the sickle and the hammer, fixed to it, an organ, as it describes itself, of "Christian Revolution"!

The *Civiltà Cattolica* makes a notable reflexion: "There is only *one* propaganda direction center at Moscow for the whole world, only *one* central national organ with dependent regional organs, and of these only *one* directs each region, in order to obtain singleness of purpose and unity of action under the guidance of the *one* Central Council at Moscow. On this point; *fas est ab hoste doceri!*"

The propaganda is carried out on the bases of atheism since, according to Lenin, "Religion is the opium of the people." The *Civiltà Cattolica* gives a number of godless pamphlets, the titles of which cause us to shudder: *Las doce pruebas de la inexistencia de Dios* (twelve proofs for the non-existence of God), *Donde está Dios?* (Where is God?), *La peste religiosa* (the religious pestilence), *Jesus es un*

mito (Jesus is a myth), El esperpento judaico crucificado (the Jewish impostor crucified), Una pedrada a la Virgen (a stone thrown at the Virgin), etc. A pamphlet, Chants revolutionnaires, published by the "Editions de l'Ecole emancipée," is a review directed to 20,000 teachers of France, members of the Socialist and Communist Party, to poison the minds of school children. They are all songs flowing with hatred for the "rich and the priests allied with them," filled with calls to armed rebellion to destroy the present existing social order, with promises of well-being and happiness for the proletariat in the coming Socialist regime. The central organ in France, L'Humanité, publishes a daily output of 400,000 copies and sometimes 750,000 copies. There the regional journals number about 24; 21 are especially meant for youths; 10 declare themselves as "anti-Fascist," and many others appear under the pretentious caption for "Free-Thinkers."

Let it be remembered that this filth is spread in the Spanish-American republics: Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, Argentine, Mexico, etc. In Argentine alone no less than 660 journals, reviews, and periodicals of Socialist and Communist propaganda are diffused, of which 240 are written in Spanish and 420 in other languages. In Mexico, among the official publications of

the persecuting government, we find this manual for the teachers: Practica de educacion irreligiosa, para uso de las escuelas primarias y nocturnas para obreros. In the English-speaking countries, Great Britain and the United States, an enormous quantity of Communist literature is published as to fill two large halls in the exposition at Rome. The journals and periodicals are written not only in English but also in the languages of the different immigrants living in the respective countries. "From the Central organ in New York alone there is diffused throughout the United States the following publications: 2 in Yiddish, 2 in Armenian, 2 in Russian, 2 in Spanish, and one for each of the following languages: Italian, Estonian, Latvian, German, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Chinese; from other cities flow: 4 in Finnish, 2 in Japanese, and one for the other languages, Italian, Bulgarian, Polish, Rumanian, Lithuanian, Croatian, Slovak, Swedish, Portuguese, and Hungarian.

"The Red assault is made on three fronts, the industrial, the cultural, and the religious. On the industrial front, they have the organization of cell systems, which constitutes the 'United Front of the Proletariat.' They plan means of education, Marxist schools, and conferences on the art of revolution. On the cultural front, they de-

velop a Marxist culture, music (revolutionary songs), theatres, cinemas, art, and literature. On the religious front, the irreligious youth movements as the 'League of Godless Children,' modelled on the atheist organization of the U. R. S. S."

The *Civiltà Cattolica* concludes: "When a people, ignorant and distant from the Church, is continually fed with such shocking Communist propaganda as enumerated above and ceaselessly agitated by Red fanatics, it is logical that in a revolutionary explosion, as presently exemplified in Spain, they give vent to bestial excesses that can not be described."

"The inactivity of those whose duty it is to perform the true social reforms (taught from time to time by the Church) and who are capable to distinguish clearly what is legitimate liberty apart from lawless license, most aptly lends itself to the ruthless cunning of Communism; this, in turn, finds fertile soil in the ignorance of the laboring masses easily caught by the power of Red propaganda. These are the three causes, intimately connected, of the Communist invasion into all fields of activity, whose emissaries and skilled propagandists are directed by the Central Executive Committee at Moscow, the Comintern, and which are responsible for the incredible facts the exposition at Rome has brought to light. *Videant Consules!*"

Communism in Soviet Russia

How the average citizen lives under a Communist regime. Similar conditions will prevail wherever Communism triumphs. Sent from Moscow by an American correspondent of the Associated Press, Mr. Charles F. Nutter, and reprinted here from the "Washington Evening Star," October 5, 1936.

MOSCOW, October 5.—Tovarisch (Comrade) Ivan Ivanovitch Alexandroff doesn't belong to the Rotary Club, drive his own car, own his own home, or speak out his mind on party politics and who should be elected President.

The state takes care of all those things for him.

And if he has a non-conformist mind, he keeps his thoughts to himself or finds he is in trouble.

For there is probably no more regimented life in the world today than that of John Citizen of the Soviet Union.

He does what he is told with no questions asked, reads what the state thinks he should, lives where he is told, stays close to home and minds his own business.

He and his family live, eat and sleep in one room, for living quarters are at a premium in modern Russia. If he wants to take a vacation he orders his

railroad ticket from three to six days in advance, and usually gets it.

JOINS THE ARMY AT 19

He joins the army at 19 if he is physically fit, and serves two years compulsory training, whereafter he is placed on the reserve list, subject to call.

He can't take a flier in real estate or the stock market for no land is for sale and there is no stock market. He doesn't know much about what goes on in the outside world, for there is little news in the six-page government newspaper he sees.

If he buys his own newspaper he stands in a queue to get it. He also joins a queue to get a soft drink, buy his bread and bacon, catch a street car or taxi, or put his savings in the bank.

The queue is the symbol of life in Russia today. If there are three people waiting to catch a street car they will be lined up patiently in a queue.

Generally he knows no foreigners,

gets no mail, magazines or periodicals from abroad. He reads his newspaper avidly, but finds it pretty dull at times because the favored topics are articles exhorting him to work harder and harder and telling him of the preparation for the defense of the nation against Fascism, capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

HAS FEW DIVERSIONS

He has few diversions. There are no country clubs or golf clubs, but other sports are gradually taking hold under state tutelage. He has no family automobile—the number of automobiles in Russia is counted in the hundreds, not millions.

He has freedom of thought as long as it is what he is supposed to think. If he wants to denounce Leon Trotzky he'll get an audience, but if he reverses that order he'll get in trouble.

There's no such thing as speaking out one's mind on the administration. John Citizen never escapes the surveil-

lance of the secret police, who know his every movement.

He goes to church if he likes, but that makes him suspect for there is no God officially acknowledged in Russia. If he thinks there is, his children may denounce him, for at school they have been taught otherwise.

He loses control of his family quickly, because the children are weaned away from the fireside by the state at an early age. His wife generally works, usually in a factory.

LITTLE CHOICE IN FOOD

He has little choice in foods and clothing. He takes what is at hand and

is glad to get it. He generally buys his Summer clothes in Winter and Winter clothes in Summer because they are cheaper and more plentiful then.

He always carries his passport, without which he cannot go anywhere. He needs it to register at a hotel, enter a public building or buy a railroad ticket.

He rests every sixth day instead of seventh, observing thus a six-day week. Sunday as a day of rest has been abolished.

If he aspires to politics he can apply for membership in the exclusive Com-

munist Party. It's difficult to get in, and at the slightest infringement of the rigid party rules John Citizen is turned out in disgrace.

He owns little or no property, although today he can buy a small house in certain areas, together with enough land to raise his own vegetables. He can't become an employer, however, and aspire to live from the sweat of others. He pays little or no taxes, the state takes care of his insurance, doctor, hospital and undertaking bills.

From capitalistic standards he leads a pretty dull life, but he does remarkably little grouching about it.

COMMUNISM IN FRANCE

French Communists as is well known have formed a "Common Front" (Le Front Populaire) with the Radical-Socialists and the "Orthodox" Socialist party led by Leon Blum. The leader of French Communism is Thorez, who is, of course a member of the Komin-tern. The Communists control *L'Humanité*, the Parisian daily which has an enormous circulation in the metropolis and the provinces. In the elections of May, 1936, the Communists returned 72 members to the Chamber of Deputies out of a total of 618. Their popular vote was 1,454,000 out of 9,839,000 i.e. approximately 15 per cent. In 1932 the Communists polled 800,000 votes. In 1936 (Aug.) there were 303,000 party members in France including 78,000 Communist "youths." In Paris and its suburbs the Communist vote in 1936 rose to 316,000. In October, 1935, it was reported that 4,118 "cells" were active in factories, schools, etc.

Communism in France is strongest among the urban workers in great industrial centers. But its leaders are making constant efforts to penetrate the peasantry and the "petite bourgeoisie." "Anti-Militarism" is no longer stressed, since the Franco-Soviet Alliance. The "Common Front" propaganda seeks to depict Communism as a "patriotic movement" and the logical sequence of the great French Revolution. Thorez and the Communist General Committee assure Blum "of our fraternal collaboration." Communists assure the peasants that they seek to safeguard private property in land, and are the friends of "small owners." Communism in France regards itself as the "dauphin" of Socialism, and awaits the hours to strike "for true popular democracy." Its watchword is "Les Soviets Partout ("Soviets everywhere").

Doriot, the Mayor of St. Denis, who has "bolted" from Communism and now denounces his former colleagues

as "tools of Stalin" and "slaves of Russia" is even more the target of Communistic hatred than de la Rocque. Doriot advocates "National Socialism" and an understanding with Hitler.

PORTUGAL

On September 16, 1936, Dr. Salazar, Premier of Portugal, organized a civilian army to fight against Communism. It is to be called "The Portuguese Legion." The Portuguese Government will recognize the Portuguese Legion as a political organization of volunteers destined to organize moral and social resistance against enemies of the republic and of public order. The oath taken by members of the Legion follows "I will defend my country and its social order, and give my life and property willingly for the corporative state. I will repudiate and fight Communistic doctrines."

SOVIET INTENSIFIES WAR ON RELIGION

Militant "Godless" to Be Organized, Propaganda Increased

By the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Nov. 13. — Firmer measures against religion were approved yesterday at a Communist Party conference at Yaroslavl, north of Moscow.

The conferees heard allegations that peasants, under the influence of priests, caused a loss of 35 per cent of Russia's crops for 1936 because of their attendance at church.

The conference decided to increase anti-religious propaganda, to organize councils of militant "Godless" persons in all districts, and to open anti-religious schools immediately to educate youths.

CITE PRAISE FOR VIOLATORS

Speakers declared that on many collective farms in the Buisk and Galitch

districts, church leaders had praised collective farm women who violated "labor discipline" by attending church.

One speaker asserted evangelists circulated a statement saying: "Be as simple as doves and as sly as snakes. Jesus was of proletarian origin, the son of Joseph the Carpenter and of a toiling woman. It is necessary to explain that Jesus Christ was the great Socialist and Communist predecessor of the Communist Party."

The magazine *Bolshevik* declared women and older peasants still were strongly religious.

YOUNGER ONES LOSE RELIGION

Among the younger peasants, most of whom attended churches in 1923, only 1 per cent of the men and 12 per cent of the women now go to church, the magazine stated.

Among middle-aged peasants, *Bolshevik* said, 3 per cent of the males and 26 per cent of the females are still churchgoers, while older peasants—all of whom attended church in 1923—14 per cent of the men and 48 per cent of the women still worship.

PRAGUE, Oct. 5.—Under the title "National League Against Bolshevism" there has been founded in Prague a national organization with the object of offsetting the influence of Communism and radical Socialism on the population of the republic.

The promoters of the "National League Against Bolshevism" are members of the "Association for the Support of the Catholic Press in Czechoslovakia." They report a great response to their appeal and announce that thousands of Catholics have already joined the new "League," regardless of political conviction.

The founding of the "League" has been much commented upon in local and foreign press, receiving a commendatory notice in the *Osservatore Romano*, in Rome.

The main motive for the establish-

ment of the "League" was to have a powerful, non-political organization which would counteract the influence of the so-called "Union of Friends of Soviet Russia." The latter organization has been working in Czechoslovakia for some time past, endowed with ample funds, with the aim—officially—to acquaint the public with Soviet Russia and its development; however, under this official mantle the "Union" has been carrying on a program of propaganda for Communism, especially among the students of high schools.

DUBLIN, Nov. 2.—His Eminence Joseph Cardinal MacRory, Archbishop of Armagh, delivered an important address when he opened and blessed the new schools of the Christian Brothers in Drogheda. In reply to the address of Brother Donnelly, Superior, the Cardinal acknowledged the debt of the people generally to the work of the Irish Christian Brothers.

Stressing the importance of secondary education, His Eminence said: "It is Godless education more than anything else that has brought Europe to its present deplorable state, with all the greater nations devoured by envy, jealousy, and fear of one another, and with the very foundations of civilization being threatened by the secret and persistent propaganda of Communism. It is a time, therefore, when I think that something special ought to be done to instruct our boys and girls in secondary schools against the fundamental errors of the Communist position. I should like to see in every secondary school a short course of instruction on the doctrines of the Church that are assailed by Communist propaganda."

The Cardinal suggested the lines suitable for such a course of instruction.

PARIS, Oct. 5.—*Choirs*, Paris weekly published in the interest of decency over the air and in the movies, and sponsored by Catholic organiza-

tions, calls attention to "a curious incident" that occurred at a meeting of the international committee of the League of Nations to consider the use of the radio in the interest of peace.

The Austrian delegate demanded that anti-religious propaganda be barred from the air. Other delegates, notably those of Ireland, Switzerland, and Hungary, indorsed his motion. But the delegate of Soviet Russia opposed it, stating that his country would never sign a convention containing this clause since it respects "liberty of conscience, whether religious or anti-religious."

After the session, the motion was set aside for further study.

EDINBURGH, Oct. 12.—The outrages committed on religious and the Church in Spain prove "beyond doubt that Christianity is the enemy aimed at" by Communism, declares the Most Rev. Andrew Joseph MacDonald, O.S.B., Archbishop of Edinburgh, in a pastoral letter just issued.

Citing the atrocities in the present Spanish civil war, Archbishop MacDonald declares that "God Himself is the foe" against which the radical forces in Spain wage their persecution. He stresses that "again and again during the past years the Pope has loudly proclaimed Communism to be the great danger of mankind."

"Yet in spite of all the Holy Father's warnings and the deadly earnestness of his appeals," the pastoral says, "the world at large has refused to grasp how serious are the issues at stake. Even Catholics have to a great extent remained callous and inactive, not appreciating the urgency of the situation and the frightfulness of the evil at our doors."

LONDON, Nov. 2.—"Never has the Church been confronted so manifestly by the forces of anti-Christ; never has Christian civilization had to face an enemy so ruthless, so persistent, so implacable, so well organized, so

universal," declared the Most Rev. Richard Downey, Archbishop of Liverpool, in a condemnation of Communism, while addressing a meeting of the Catholic Young Men's Society at Wigan.

Communism, he said, "is essentially atheistic, materialistic and disruptive. Its atheism does not consist merely in the denial of God; it is a positive hatred of God, intense, implacable, like to that which burns in the evil spirits of hell—a hatred which is organized and mobilized as a veritable war."

The Archbishop declared that the organizers of Communism are endowed with a cunning and resource that are truly marvelous. They appear to command unlimited funds; they are adepts at fishing in the troubled waters of discontent.

"Since for them Christian morality has no meaning, they are hampered by no solicitude for truth or honesty in their efforts to win adherents; and one of the falsehoods which they most habitually employ is to represent the Catholic Church as the enemy of the working class and as the upholder of the very abuses of the capitalist system which the Church herself has most vehemently condemned."

Though the membership of the Communist Party in Great Britain is not large, said Archbishop Downey, its control is exercised over many subordinate organizations, through which its influence reaches into well-nigh every department of the nation's life. These organizations usually bear harmless-sounding names; they often assume the mask of philanthropy, and even of religious piety.

In the presence of the grave danger, an immense responsibility rests on all Catholics, said the Archbishop. "They are bound in conscience," he said, "to oppose by every lawful means in their power the ceaseless efforts of the Communists to seize or consolidate positions in public life and institutions of our city and our country—in every department where the Communist octopus strives to intrude its innumerable tentacles."





Part III

The Christian Program



The positive and constructive attack on Communism has been under way for some time in Canada. The excellent work of the "Ecole Sociale Populaire," under Père Archambault, S.J., has had wide influence. We reproduce below the program, signed by a group of distinguished Canadian laymen. The work in English-speaking regions is directed by Rev. Wm. X. Bryan, S.J., whose recent address is synopsized below from the "Montreal Beacon" of October 30, 1936

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION A PROGRAM

The crisis through which we are now passing demands that all men of good will make an earnest effort towards its solution. Last May, *L'Ecole Sociale Populaire* published a program inspired by high ideals, with which we are here in complete accord.

We are among those who believe that the chief causes of the crisis belong to the moral order, and that its remedy consists first and foremost in a return to the true Christian spirit—the spirit of Justice, Charity, Moderation, Respect for the rights of God and of our neighbor.

We believe that the State, whose primary function it is to safeguard the rights and legitimate liberties of its citizens—above all those of the weak and needy—and to promote the common good, ought through legislative measures put an end to the existing dictatorship of wealth and bring about a more equitable distribution of the material goods of this world. Unlike Socialism, which of its very nature is evil, the Capitalistic System, as such, ought not be condemned. It has, however, been corrupted through abuses, which must be rooted out.

We believe that the vocational groups should organize solidly so that they will be able to fill the important role that will devolve upon them. A corporative ordering of society must be gradually developed that will free the State from many secondary functions which have been heaped upon it.

We believe, finally, that Canada is first of all for Canadians, and that during these times of unemployment, all immigration is opposed to the best interests of the country. As the foundation of our Canadian political system we place respect for the rights of the provinces and the principle of the equality of the two races, such as they

are envisaged in the agreement of Confederation.

The program of the E. S. P., prepared as it was by moralists, confined itself to broad outlines. It did not enter into details. Still, these more definite proposals are necessary. They must be offered to the public who demand concrete and practical reforms. They come for the most part from technical experts, with whose aid we have prepared the following articles. To condense into a few lines the wealth of material requiring treatment, we have found it necessary to make use of short formulae. Some points, however, may call for explanation. This we intend to give in a pamphlet that will soon be published.

We invite our fellow citizens to study this program seriously, and should they find it acceptable, to endeavor to interest public men in it, and so to bring about its gradual application.

I.—RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

1. *Reconstruction of existing agriculture:* A return to agriculture on the family basis; farmers' associations; spread of agricultural knowledge; development of the cooperative movement; agricultural credit through people's banks; diversification of production through the introduction of new farm products, suitable to our soil and climate and meeting the demands of the local markets. With this end in view, a survey should be made (a) of the sales in the city markets to find out exactly what is sold; (b) of the agricultural products to learn what is missing; (c) of the land under cultivation, from the viewpoint of soil and climate, in order to determine what new products to introduce.

2. *Colonization:* (a) Duty of the State: To act according to a previously determined annual plan; to facilitate access to land anywhere that can be

colonized, whether it be Crown land or granted "en seigneurie" or as timber limits. With this end in view to set apart reserves for colonization purposes, and to open again to agriculture lands granted as timber limits or "en seigneurie." To grant lands to colonists before the wood has been cut, and to require that the companies purchase the wood from the colonists before cutting on their own limits; to make an appropriation for colonization purposes better proportioned to the urgent needs of the times; to further the establishment of colonization societies and to co-operate with these societies; to aid the colonists through diocesan societies and by works (roads, etc.) or through collective subsidies (construction of schools, churches) rather than through grants to individuals; to apply more widely the Gordon Plan for the return of the city-unemployed to the land.

(b) Duty of the public: Parochial and diocesan colonization societies for the recruiting of colonists and the organization of the new parishes.

3. *Domestic Arts and Local Industry:* Development of the domestic arts in order to increase the revenue of the agricultural family. Institution of a survey: (a) concerning what is being done; (b) concerning what could be done. Economic decentralization to be encouraged. With this end to aid the development of the small and medium-sized local or regional industry which will serve as a complement to agriculture by furnishing it with an outlet (a) for its products; (b) for its surplus handiwork.

II.—LABOR QUESTION

Nation-wide uniformity of certain labor laws, whose incidence is national or international in extent, such as regulation of the hours of work; progressive organization or social insurance on a contributory basis; immediate

application, as a temporary expedient, of the Federal old age pension law; subsidies for needy mothers; family living wage; prudent experimentation in granting subsidies to meet the needs of large families, keeping in view always the rural problem; primacy of the salary over dividends; minimum wage for day labor; obligatory apprenticeship; a higher council of labor and a code of labor; legal extension of the collective contract; corporative organization of vocational groups; return of the mother to the home; strict observance of Sunday; public and private efforts to facilitate property ownership for the working class; elimination of slum dwellings; more effective surveillance of the labor laws; revision of the workmen's compensation laws with regard to choice of doctor and delay giving right to indemnity; sale on the deferred payment plan (installment plan) to be regulated by law.

III.—THE FIGHT AGAINST TRUSTS

Opposition to coal and gasoline cartels; supervision of trade in milk and bread; special opposition to the Electricity Trust; organization of competition through the establishment of a Provincial Hydro-Electric Commission which would implement, in proportion to increasing needs, the waterfalls on which power rights have not yet been granted, as well as those already so affected, though not yet completely exploited; an investigation concerning Beauharnois Power and the Montreal Light, Heat and Power, and should the existence of abuses be proved, the nationalization of Beauharnois, guaranteeing its bonds, and indemnifying the shareholders only to the extent of their original money payments; subjection of the trust to a system of control over generation and distribution to assure a moderate tariff for all; Government protection for municipalities, which after a referendum, decide to municipalize their electric service; a policy of gradual rural electrification in accordance with a predetermined plan; complete investigation into the financial methods and structure of public utility companies and a just liquidation (devaluation) of their capitalization; obligatory establishment by the hydro-electric companies of a reserve under State control, through the annual payment of a fixed percentage of their capital, with which the Government, in the event of proved abuses, could purchase the enterprises at the material value of their assets.

IV.—FINANCIAL REFORMS

Uniformity throughout the whole of Canada of laws pertaining to joint stock companies; the use of assumed names to be forbidden in obtaining in-

corporation papers (letters patent); abolition of shares with no par value, and simplification of the financial structure of companies, allowing only bonds—that is, securities guaranteed by a first mortgage on the real assets—preferred stock and common stock with a definite par value; participation of the bondholders in the election of the board of directors; directors of a company to be required to own, in proportion to its capitalization, a specified amount of securities, more than half of this amount to consist of common stock; obligatory deposit of these securities with a trust company as a guarantee of honest administration; obligatory annual publication by each company of a complete list of its shareholders and bondholders; curtailment in proportion to services rendered of salaries, commissions and fees paid out to higher officials and directors, with the obligatory publication each year of their total amount; stock bonuses and stock dividends to be forbidden as well as divisions of the shares and issues of shares which lessen the security of the already subscribed capital; uniform financial statements; fixed percentages to cover depreciation, amortization, etc., especially for companies which deal in prime necessities, milk, flour, bread, coal, electricity, etc.; joint responsibility of directors and auditors who sign the financial statement of a company; joint responsibility of directors and brokers, who sell the stock of a company, as to the truth of the prospectus; rigorous control, and in case of necessity, abolition of "investment trusts" and "holding companies"; banks to be forbidden to advance credit: 1° either directly or indirectly to their directors, 2° to undertakings in which the said directors are interested; banks to be forbidden to advance to brokers more than 50 per cent of the quoted par value of a security, or 50 per cent of the quoted market value if the security is quoted below par; "pools" and "short selling" on the Exchange to be forbidden; imposition of a provincial tax on all transfers of listed stocks, effective within a year after purchase.

V.—POLITICAL REFORMS

Administrative control of the execution of public works, in so far as possible, thus to end the rule of big business; exclusion of ministers from the directorates of any industrial, commercial or financial undertaking, in compensation their salaries to be raised and a reasonable pension assured them after a given period of service; newspapers to be obliged to publish a testified list of their directors, shareholders, mortgagees and regular editors; the Provincial Government to have its own

printing establishment, other public bodies to be forbidden to award printing contracts, without calling for tenders; public men not to be allowed to do under an assumed name what they may not legally do in their own name; all cases of embezzlement and speculation to be referred to the courts rather than to the deliberative assemblies; the date of elections to be fixed and declaration of contributions to the party funds to be obligatory, whether for electoral campaigns or for the general or sectional organizations of the party; strict enforcement of the law against supposititious votes (telegraphing); formation of a provincial economic council composed of an executive committee and as many sub-committees as there are branches in our social and economic life. Members of the council to be experts named by the State but appointed by the various social and vocational groups; function of the council to be the elaboration of a social and economic policy and a consultative co-operation with the Government; also, the council to take part to the nomination of sub-ministers and of the heads of State departments (civil service departments).

As we are perfectly aware, not all of the points of this program may be readily and immediately put into effect. Nonetheless the reforms we are advocating appear to us both just and necessary, nor is there any grave obstacle in the way of their execution.

In supporting this program to the best of our ability, our sole motives are a love of our country and a desire to secure for it a reign of Social Justice. This we consider to be the best safeguard against such calamities as threaten in the present situation. All who agree with us, whether individuals or societies, are invited to send us their approbation. With equal good will shall we listen to any remarks or criticisms.

Signed:

ESDRAS MINVILLE.

DR. PHILIPPE HAMEL.

ALBERT RIOUX.

V.-E. BEAUPRE.

DR. J.-B. PRINCE.

ANATOLE VANIER.

ARTHUR LAURENDEAU.

ALFRED CHARPENTIER.

WILFRID GUERIN.

RENE CHALOULT.

100,000 CATHOLICS PLEDGE ANTI-COMMUNISM FIGHT

Crowds Fill Drill Hall, Champ de Mars and Near By Streets as Leaders Urge Action

The Montreal Star, Oct. 26, 1936

Montreal Roman Catholics, 100,000 strong, in the greatest religious demonstration since the Eucharistic Congress 25 years ago, told the world that they would fight Communism by rallying closer to the Catholic Church, which they consider the impregnable barrier against this anti-social doctrine, and swore allegiance to the Pope by protesting against the persecution of Catholics in Russia, Mexico and Spain, at a rally in the Craig Street drill hall yesterday afternoon.

CHAMP DE MARS STREETS CROWDED

Scheduled to begin at 2 o'clock, groups from outlying districts of Montreal reached the scene of the demonstration as the rally was almost over. The drill hall was filled to overflowing and about 90,000 persons from all districts of the Island of Montreal stood on the Champ de Mars and nearby streets as brief addresses were made by Msgr. Georges Gauthier, Archbishop Co-adjutor of Montreal; Ald. Leo McKenna, pro-mayor; Rev. Papin Archambault, Edouard Montpetit, general secretary of the University of Montreal; Msgr. J. Conrad Chaumont, Vicar General; Gerard Thibault, M.L.A., and Philippe Gerard, president of the Central Council of Les Syndicats Catholiques de Montreal.

The ceremony was peaceful and orderly but impressive as thousands raised their hands in salute to Archbishop Gauthier, their local leader. The demonstration also included resolutions which received the unanimous support of the throngs assembled in the drill hall and on Champ de Mars.

FIDELITY TO CHURCH AND LEADERS SHOWN

"Montreal Catholics," the resolutions read, "assembled in a huge manifestation in honor of Christ God, proclaim their fidelity to the Church and to its leaders and assure their respectful confidence and their filial submission.

"They address to His Holiness the Pope the expression of their deep attachment, their gratitude for his enlightening encyclical letters and their determination to have these instructions direct the course of their lives.

"They protest against the persecutions to which religion is subjected in different countries of the world, chiefly in Russia, in Mexico and in Spain, and they forward to their brothers in re-

ligion the testimony of their most sincere sympathy.

"They denounce Communistic propaganda more active than ever in Canada, due to scandalous ententes and recall to civil authorities that it is now their duty to forestall these subversive campaigns even if legislation becomes necessary.

"Urge Governments to achieve at the earliest possible moment the disappearance of those abuses of capitalism which constitute incitements to revolt and to apply those reforms indicated in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* for a better distribution of wealth and the suppression of economic dictatorship."

ARCHBISHOP GAUTHIER URGES ACTION AT ONCE

When Archbishop Gauthier stood on the north platform of the drill hall, deafening cheers were heard for several minutes.

"We have reached the point where we must comply more than ever with the wishes of His Holiness the Pope, who has recently expressed his sorrow at the persecution which Roman Catholics are undergoing," the Archbishop said.

"It is unfair that we leave the entire world under a false impression concerning our attitude relating to Communism. One movement has been seen in this country up to the present time, and this movement favored the Popular Front, a group comprised of new barbarians who have covered the lands of Spain with desolation and blood.

"We are intent upon undertaking more than a temporary campaign. Once again, we wish to awaken public opinion of Canadian residents and have them fully realize the difficulties which Communism is gradually preparing. Let us leave Europe to its serious complications. Europe runs the risk of having to pay dearly for letting Soviet Russia establish itself within its walls.

FIGHT COMMUNISM IN CITY AND PROVINCE

"For the moment, we are interested in the welfare of our city and of our province and are determined to fight Communistic propaganda which is already getting a strong hold. Communism promises an end to our suffering by the introduction of economic change. Communism is no longer interested in fighting former barriers which checked its progress. It is now intent upon overthrowing the Catholic Church which is preventing its victory and delaying its progress. Communism does not appear to fear repression but, thank God, we may yet count on the civil authority of our province.

"One assertion we may make is that the only effective resistance to Com-

munism is Catholicism, because the Catholic Church has always held principles and doctrines which are the only guarantee for the maintenance of social order.

"Communism wants to create anti-clericalism so that anti-social doctrines will dominate here as they have in Spain and Mexico," Archbishop Gauthier concluded.

A telegram was forwarded to His Holiness the Pope, as follows: "100,000 Catholics assembled in Montreal send the homage of Roman Catholics and protests against Communism. They, under the presidency of Msgr. Gauthier, express their deep gratitude and their fidelity."

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA MUST BE HALTED, SAYS REV. FATHER BRYAN, S.J.

**Tells of Happenings in War-Torn
Spain and Warns of Efforts to
Spread Disaffection in Canada—
Unmasks Methods Used by "Reds"
in Advancing Their Doctrines and
Urges Alertness and Strongest Op-
position to Their Plans.**

**Deplores Attitude of English-Speak-
ing Press of Montreal.**

Montreal Beacon, Oct. 30, 1936

This attitude of the papers and of a great many of our fellow citizens is due especially to the tremendous amount of propaganda which is being spread. Now, there has happened in the world, in 1917, a fact which most people do not recognize. There came into existence, then, the Third International. I know that there are some who are going to say that I see a Communist under my bed every night. But there is such a thing in the world as the Communist International. There is no word in the English language strong enough to characterize it. You can call it diabolical, but you would have to intensify the nature of that "diabolicalism" before you would get an inkling of the truth. It is so beautifully disguised that people fail to realize that it is acting in their very midst. Do you imagine that the devil is going to tempt people in his own form? If people saw the devil as he is, they would have none of him. Do you imagine that Communism is going to sell itself to our university professors, and come into this country in its natural guise? It has come in, it has penetrated the world, it has entered every stratum of society, and many have been fooled by Communist propaganda. This is what happened in

Cuba; this is what happened in Mexico, and that is what is going to happen to us.

CANADA LINKED UP.

The Communist Party in Canada is a section of the Third International. The Comintern has international auxiliary organizations. These are doing the work among those who are not members of the Communist Party. . . . The famous medical mission leaving Montreal to go to help the Spanish Government was, in all probability, organized by the Communist International for medical aid. The Canadian Labor Defense League is the Canadian branch of the Labor Defense International of the Communist Party. They can deny it until they are blue in the face (or red in the face, if you like). It is the Canadian branch of the International Organization, and it can be proven up to the hilt.

You have another international in the "Friends of the Soviet Union," "International Labor Unions," etc. The world is being stirred up to fight against war and Fascism. You have 10,000 friends of democracy who maintain they are fighting war and Fascism, and they are fighting the battle of Communism, in our midst. These are some of the Communist Internationals; and this is taken from official books. These internationals have been working and working successfully. They fool a great many of the people and they are fooling them every day. That explains in a large measure why it is so hard to counteract the lying propaganda of the Communists. They are amply provided with funds and are gaining in experience every day.

Between the idea of state superiority and the idea of the individual supreme, we are trying to take the sane middle course, the individual supreme in some ways, but subordinated to the common good of his fellow man. So let that snake be scotched once and for all. Because we are against Communism we are not in favor of Fascism; we want justice and Christianity. Unfortunately, there is a little bit of reason for the confusion which lies in men's minds about Fascism and the Catholic Church. The Holy Father in Quadragesimo Anno put forth his ideas of what the correct social organization should be, and he used the "corporative" idea, the organization of man in society according to the work he performs, the occupational group idea. Mussolini, being no idiot, recognized a good thing when he saw it, and he took that occupational idea. . . .

Let us emphasize once and for all that because we are against Communism we are not for Fascism or

Naziism. We are not Fascists nor do we preach Fascism.

MOSCOW DOMINATES

It is time to draw this to a conclusion. Let us see Spain for what it is at the present time: a country dominated by Moscow, planned to be a second Russia. Trotsky, not Lenin, said that Europe would burn at both ends, Russia first and Spain next. This was made possible because Spanish Catholics, the majority of the Spanish people, were not aware of certain facts. They had lived too long in security and had not been persecuted enough. They were in the same position that we are in. They shut their eyes to the work that was being done in their midst by subversive elements, to the very evident fact that there is abroad in this world a force that hates God, hates Christ and all that Catholics stand for, a fact of world import. They were blind. That preparation of Spain for final destruction by Moscow was made possible because Spanish Catholics were not awake to their own duties, to their duty of taking an interest in public affairs; nor are we. We don't take an interest in public affairs that the Communists do. They were not aware of their indifference to Christ's poor. He was poor. The poor were His friends, and if we Catholics do not befriend the poor, if we are not on their side, if we are on the side of the wealthy, we are not on the side of Christ.

MUST BE ON GUARD

They were not aware of their duty, of intolerance of abuse. Nor are we. We talk of "honest rackets." That is political abuse. We profit by social injustice. We buy stocks and bonds and ask what revenue will they bring. We don't ask will they bring revenue honestly. There was too much of that in Spain. They were not aware of their duty, nor are we, to Christianize society. There is the duty to Christians not only to save their individual souls but there is the duty imposed upon them by their Lord and Master to "so let their light shine before men that knowing them they will praise the Father in Heaven." Let us learn the lessons of Spain and Russia, of France; lessons of the world at the present time, and recognize Communism for what it is, the greatest menace, irreconcilably fighting God, and let us fight Communism; scotch its lying propaganda, take away its main arguments by fighting the abuses of Capitalism and Fascism in all its forms.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, PHILA.

Report on Activities of the Social Order Program

Registration for the School of Social Sciences was held on October 12, 13, 14. Classes began the following Monday, October 19. The student body now numbers about 1,040, of whom there are 310 men and 730 women. There are 77 classes and 38 professors. The Jesuits are 16. The school is held on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday nights from 7.25 to 10 o'clock.

In order to give the students a practical application of the principles learned in class, a Social Science Guild was formed. It follows the general rules set down for the sodality. A copy of the constitution shows the aim and nature of the guild.

At present the publicity committee puts out a weekly mimeographed paper setting forth the news of Catholic Action and in particular the activities of the school. The social service committee is engaged in a clothes drive for the poor. The Eucharistic committee is securing a spiritual bouquet of Masses, Holy Communion, rosaries, etc., which will be offered up as an act of reparation for the sins of the world. The mission committee is preparing to assist pastors of poor parishes in catechetical work. Stamps will be collected for the missions. The literature committee is collecting Catholic literature for distribution to prisons, hospitals, and to the public. The pamphlet rack in the entrance hall contains hundreds of timely prints from the various Catholic presses.

This year no attempt was made for publicity. Students returned with their friends. The general run of students seems to be more earnest than of last year. Many college graduates are enrolled. What has been said of the school for last year may be repeated. Several of the Jesuit Fathers have been engaged in street-corner speaking for the Catholic Evidence Guild. The radio talks on the social order started in September. Station WCAU has received high praise for our program, which also offers music by the various choirs of churches and colleges. Likewise our Fathers are in great demand for talks on Communism.

Approval of the School of Social Sciences has come from Father General; Cardinals Dougherty of Philadelphia and O'Connell of Boston, prominent social workers throughout the country. Similar schools are going on at Xavier High School in New York and at St. John's College in Brooklyn. Requests for information

have been received from all over the United States and from many foreign countries. The State Department of Education at Harrisburg has given us high praise for the completeness of our adult educational program. This year the school will make a special effort to explain the Consumers' Co-operative Movement. The local co-operative

center has sought our aid. We shall assist as far as possible.

The school offers courses in the following subjects: Religion I—Nature of Religion; Religion II—The Sacraments; Ethics; Principles of Papal Encyclicals; Ethical Aspects of Communism; Communism and Religion; Catholicism and Modern Thought;

Catholicism and the Modern Mind; Political Science; American Government; Minor Logic; Major Logic; Public Speaking; Panel Discussion; Psychology; Natural Theology; Economics; Advanced Economics; Sociology; Educational Sociology; Modern International Affairs; Modern Literature.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

MONDAY			TUESDAY			WEDNESDAY		
7.25			7.25			7.25		
Course		Teacher	Course		Teacher	Course		Teacher
Communism and Religion	Fr. Hogan		Sociology	Mr. Hoelzle		Psychology	Fr. Harrison	
Mod. Internat. Affairs	Fr. Coughlin		Sociology	Mr. Goldschmidt		Nat. Theol. (men)	Mr. McHugh	
Political Science	Mr. Scott		Minor Logic	Fr. Mullen		Logic	Mr. Seltzer	
Political Science	Mr. Gaffney		Ethics	Fr. Campbell		Logic	Mr. Bennington	
Minor Logic	Fr. Mullen		Ethics (men)	Mr. McHugh		Ethical Aspects of		
Ethics (men)	Mr. Paone		Religion I	Fr. Brown		Communism	Fr. O'Connor	
Religion II	Fr. Jos. Murphy					Ethics	Mr. Baker	
Educ. Sociology	Mr. Boland					Literature	Mr. McNulty	
8.20			8.20			8.20		
Communism and Religion	Fr. Hogan		Ethics	Fr. Campbell		Psychology	Fr. Harrison	
Mod. Internat. Affairs	Fr. Coughlin		Ethics (men)	Mr. McHugh		Nat. Theol. (men)	Mr. McHugh	
Political Science	Mr. Scott		Religion I	Fr. Brown		Principles of Papal		
Political Science	Mr. Gaffney		Amer. Government	Mr. McMenamin		Encyclicals	Fr. McLaughlin	
Ethics (men)	Mr. Paone		Amer. Government	Mr. McCullough		Ethical Aspects of		
Public Speaking	Mr. Dougherty		Amer. Government	Mr. Wright		Communism	Fr. O'Connor	
Public Speaking	Mr. Galbally		Sociology	Mr. Hoelzle		Public Speaking	Mr. Molloy	
Public Speaking	Miss Scott		Sociology	Mr. Goldschmidt		Adv. Pub. Speaking	Mr. Griffin	
Catholicism and the			Adv. Economics	Mr. McCaffrey		Logic	Mr. Seltzer	
Modern Mind	Mr. Noble		Economics	Mr. Hunt		Logic	Mr. Bennington	
Religion II	Fr. Jos. Murphy		Economics	Mr. Crowley		Sociology	Fr. Jas. Murphy	
Sociology	Mr. Martin		Catholicism and Modern					
Educ. Sociology	Mr. Boland		Thought	Mr. Dineen				
9.15			9.15			9.15		
Public Speaking	Mr. Dougherty		Amer. Government	Mr. McMenamin		Principles of Papal		
Public Speaking	Mr. Galbally		Amer. Government	Mr. McCullough		Encyclicals	Fr. McLaughlin	
Panel Discussion	Miss Scott		Amer. Government	Mr. Wright		Public Speaking	Mr. Molloy	
Catholicism and the			Adv. Economics	Mr. McCaffrey		Public Speaking	Mr. Griffin	
Modern Mind	Mr. Noble		Economics	Mr. Hunt		Sociology	Fr. Jas. Murphy	
Sociology	Mr. Martin		Economics	Mr. Crowley				
Mod. Internat. Affairs	Fr. Coughlin		Catholicism and Modern					
			Thought	Mr. Dineen				
			Literature	Mr. Ryan				
			Major Logic	Mr. Fitzpatrick				

THREE PANEL DISCUSSIONS

From New England comes a sample of a very popular form of adult education designed to spread the Christian program. The following were organized in Boston by the Committee on Catholic Action of the Trinity College Alumnae.

Sunday, October 4, 1936

First Panel Discussion: CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVES

Participants:

Rev. Michael J. Ahern, S.J., Chairman of Discussion; Professor of Geology and Anthropology, Weston College.
Rev. Dr. M. M. Coady; Director of Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
Rev. Francis J. Driscoll, S.J., Professor of Economics, Boston College.

Henry F. McGuire; Retail Sales-Manager, S. S. Pierce Co., Boston.

Leo Drew O'Neil; Head of Economics and Finance Dept., Boston University.

Sunday, October 25, 1936

Second Panel Discussion: SOCIAL JUSTICE IN RELATION TO CAPITAL AND LABOR: MINIMUM WAGE

Participants:

Rev. Michael J. Ahern, S.J., Chairman of Discussion; Professor of Geology and Anthropology, Weston College.
John A. Garvey; Director and Works Manager, Dennison Manufacturing Co.
Edward A. Joyce; President, Joyce Brothers Co., Inc.
William H. Kerrish; Lecturer on Sociology.

Rev. Joseph F. Macdonnell, S.J.; Professor of Ethics, Weston College.

John J. Mahoney; Professor of Education, Boston University.

J. Arthur Moriarty; Secretary-Treasurer, Boston Lithographical Union.

Sunday, November 8, 1936

Third Panel Discussion: SOCIAL SECURITY

Participants:

Rev. Michael J. Ahern, S.J., Chairman of Discussion; Professor of Geology and Anthropology, Weston College.
Rev. Robert P. Barry; Director, Catholic Charitable Bureau.
William H. Bixby; Personnel Superintendent, William Filene's Sons Co.
Walter McCarthy; Commissioner Public Welfare, State of Massachusetts.
Louise McGuire; Regional Educational Director, Federal Social Securities.

Cornelius T. O'Connor, M.D.; Professor, School of Social Work, Boston College.

John Pearson; Regional Director of New England Federal Social Securities.

WHAT IS A "PANEL DISCUSSION"?

The "Discussion Panel" usually consists of a few selected persons who are seated on the platform with the speaker. It is expected that the speaker will confine his presentation to 45 or 50 minutes. He will then take his seat and, during the next 30 minutes, will engage in discussion of the subject with the members of the panel largely, of course, for the benefit of the audience. The interest of the audience increases in the degree in which the panel discussion is informal, genuinely sincere and natural.

TECHNIQUE OF DISCUSSION

1. In the discussion period the speaker of the evening should rarely, if ever, use more than three minutes in answering any particular question. It is preferable to use less than two

minutes. The speaker has already made his speech.

2. Real discussion is facilitated when occasionally a member of the panel addresses two or more questions or comments to the speaker, interspersed by brief responses by the speaker.

3. Discussion among members of the panel should by no means be confined to *questions* addressed to the speaker. Often it is better for a member of the panel to make a comment to which a response is expected from the speaker or from some other member of the panel. However, such comments should be limited in time to not more than two minutes.

4. A question or comment addressed to the speaker or a member of the panel from the audience should be *repeated by the speaker* so that all persons in the room may hear the question before the speaker attempts to respond.

5. Above all things, panel members should keep the discussion moving. Periods of silence which are too long are as disconcerting as failure of actors to "get their cues."

THE CATHOLIC FACES COMMUNISM

Open Forum

Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J.
Of The Queen's Work

Sponsored by
The Rochester Parish Sodality Union

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6TH, 1936
8.15 P. M.

COLUMBUS CIVIC CENTRE

Admission 35 Cents

The above announcement shows that Fathers Lord and Dowling are continuing their "dialogue" presentation of Communism in many parts of the country.

Statement of Bishops on Communism and Despotism

By the Administrative Board, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., November 20, 1936

IN the world-wide conflict of today between two diametrically opposed philosophies of life, the spiritual and the supernatural on the one side, and the materialistic on the other, there is no place for indifference or neutrality. The forces of atheism and neo-paganism with their offspring Communism and despotism are attempting to rob life of all that is spiritual and supernatural. The fate of western civilization which is rooted in Christian principles is bound up with the outcome of this struggle.

The dictatorships in the old world and in the new which have robbed men of the gift of faith, of spiritual and intellectual freedom, have subjected them to a regime of fear and force. In every quarter of the world where the Christian order has been destroyed, the process by which this was achieved was always the same. There were promises in one case of a larger share in the powers of government, in another of a restoration of national sovereignty and prestige, in still another of a juster distribution of property and

wealth. Class antagonisms were aroused, the regime of law was set aside, men were encouraged to yield to the herd passion for murder and destruction and to the herd instinct for blind submission to a leader.

PROMISES PROVED FALSE

Grim experience has given the lie to the promises and pretensions of all the founders of the modern despotisms. Those who are compelled to live under their tyranny have not the right to think, to read or to pray, except by the grace and favor of their despotic masters. The people fear and are feared. The prying eyes and the strong hand of government follow them into every detail of their private lives. All the natural instincts, friendship, family affection, reverence for what is noble and true, must be subordinated to the over-reaching claims of society. Fear of domestic enemies begets fear of outside foes until every communistic or totalitarian State becomes a mere agency for the maintenance of greater and more oppressive military establish-

ments. Militarism flourishes as it never has flourished before and nobody can foretell when the spark may be set which will involve the world in a universal conflagration of death and destruction.

To remain indifferent to what is happening before our very eyes is not only blameworthy but criminal, and for Catholics such culpability is doubly grave because they have before them a clear and explicit program of action. For more than half a century the Popes, in their Encyclicals, have been calling on Catholics and all believers in religion to make common cause against a common enemy. If it is now necessary to attempt the arduous task of providing a new outlook in philosophy, politics, economics, science, and education, and of striving to restore the Christian ideal of marriage and the family, it is because the pleadings of the Popes fell on deaf ears. Every word in these Encyclicals brings into the clearest light the accuracy with which the Popes diagnosed the ills of society and the sureness with which

they prescribed the most effective remedies.

VITAL ISSUES AT STAKE

These Encyclicals were issued to check the devastating course of the forces of error and disorder that were destroying spiritual values in life and uprooting all that was best in society and civilization. There is no evil of the present, whether it be exaggerated nationalism, communism, State abso-

lutism, social injustice, class-warfare, or any of the multifarious evils arising from the inequitable distribution of wealth and property, which was not analyzed and evaluated in these authoritative utterances of the Supreme Pontiffs. These Encyclicals contain a complete and systematic statement of Christian Political and Social Philosophy, and a working program of action for all who are desirous of correcting

the evils that are rampant in the world today.

Error can be checked only by truth. Catholics in common with millions of non-Catholics who are bewildered by the multitudinous theories of life and conduct presented for their acceptance, need definite schemes of action and a clear and well rounded philosophy of thought and conduct. The issues at stake are vital and call for concerted and unified action.



Knowledge of Communism and A United Christian Front Against The Third International



An Editorial Appeal

We have received encouraging praise concerning the November issue of our Bulletin of Information. Certain constructive criticisms and valuable suggestions have also been made, and for these we too are grateful. We have acted on some of these in the present issue.

It is one of the chief aims of our Bulletin to note constructive Catholic activity, both against Communism, and also in applying the principles of "Quadragesimo Anno" to concrete problems. We are anxious to receive information concerning the activities of Jesuits in these fields. Hence it is most earnestly requested that all the Province Directors send us detailed information concerning Catholic Social Action in their respective territories, especially concerning activities directed by

members of the various Provinces, or in which they take part.

The "Bulletin" also aims to give information concerning the Agrarian Movement, Consumers' Co-operation, and similar constructive social activities. But again we must appeal for the co-operation of the contributing editors. Any material sent to the Editor-in-Chief will be carefully read, and submitted to the Editorial Board. Subject to limitations of space, material submitted will be published promptly. But the full aim of our Bulletin can be attained only through the co-operation of all the Province Directors.

LAWRENCE KENT PATTERSON, S.J.



Part IV

Documentation



Communism and Fascism, I. A. J. Penty in *The American Review*, September, 1936.

"The Russian Revolution was not true to type. . . . A group of professional Revolutionists imposed Marxian ideology upon the Russian people. In 1917 Marxian Communism was a novelty in Russia. The Bolsheviki in 1917 were the only group that knew what they wanted. Many peasants mistook Communism for the Kingdom of God. The war had revealed the military weakness of Russia. Industrialization seemed needed, and this was pledged by the Bolsheviki. They promised land to the peasants, and a paradise to the workers."

Why Communism spreads: "The life of the industrial workers is hard, divorced from art and nature. Life seems to them a conflict of power, dry, harsh, colorless, and ugly. Among students and young people uncertainty and the lack of prospects in life lead to Communism. Orthodox Economics fails to solve their problems."

"Parlor Bolsheviki are often disgusted with the artificial life they have led. They have lost tradition, and seek a thrill in Communism."

Communist False Fronts. *Scribner's*, January, 1936. By Eugene Lyons. A lucid and forceful exposé of the "Common Front."

The Communistic Common Front. *America*, May 23, 1936. By Lawrence K. Patterson, S.J. A brief account of the origin and tactics of the "Common Front."

It Couldn't Happen There. *The Interracial Review*, November, 1936. Remarkable that the significance of facts and the influence of ideas are not measured by inches, Father Theophane Maguire, C.P., gives a grim account of Catholic overconfidence with regard to Communism: "In the U. S. A. good people look on Communism as remote because they cannot see its actual workings. This was brought home to me recently in such a striking manner that I shall relate it here. Some months ago a visitor called at our office. We mistook him for a salesman. He was in reality the Passionist Provincial, Father Niceforo Diez, C.P., from Spain. His was an interesting story of his visit in disguise to Mexico."

"When we remarked to him that we were concerned about conditions in Spain he was surprised. Even the killings of three Passionists last year, he felt, should be considered a local incident. Father Niceforo pointed out to us that Spain is a Catholic country, that its people went to Mass and the Sacraments. 'Spain—Communistic? Why nothing like that could happen there.' Poor Father Niceforo! He returned to Spain. A few months ago he and twenty-nine other Passionists were killed in Daimiel, Catalonia. It did happen there. It happened with swiftness and ferocity. It happened because the agents of Communism were working steadily and intensively in stirring up class hatred."

Bad Bedfellows. A letter to *The Commonwealth* for October 30th by the Rev. Thomas F. Reilly warns Catholics that they must be careful of the company they keep in attacking Communism. He says in part: "In this, I am not so much concerned with defending the Roosevelt administration. I am, however, very much concerned with a graver matter. In the attacks which we Catholics make upon Communism, are we going to play into the hands of those who raise the cry of Communism for political motives or as a pretext for opposing sound reforms and for crushing labor unions?"

"There are four groups in this country who use Communism as a decoy: (1) The representatives of that large and growing industry devoted to anti-union terrorism. It is an ugly picture which the La Follette investigation into labor espionage is revealing. The sale of guns, gas and gangsters to be used in keeping the workers 'in their place' runs up into huge sums. (2) The fairly considerable number of industrialists, who will not allow their employees to enter independent unions. By such employers the charge of radicalism and Communism has been and will be made with increasing frequency against the more aggressive unions, which Mr. Lewis leads. (3) The ultra-patriotic societies, which can detect Communist influence in any step that might aid the cause of world peace. (4) Certain reactionary newspapers—notably the *Hearst chain*.

"When we speak against Communism it is of the utmost importance that much of our time should be given to exposing the real motives of such propagandists and disassociating ourselves from them. By failing to perform this essential duty, we shall give aid and comfort to the forces of reaction and shall justly earn the contempt of labor and progressive groups."

World Peace. The Catholic Association for International Peace has just issued a pamphlet, "A Catholic Program for World Peace," for use in colleges, universities and study groups throughout the country.

Social Questions. A Catholic Catechism of Social Questions (The Catholic Social Guild, England; price 6d.), "All the various regiments belonging to the organized hosts of Catholic Action might well adopt this excellent booklet as a 'Soldier's Manual'" says *The Month*, July, 1936.

Unity Against Communism. In four connected editorials the Editor of *The Month* for July, 1936, ably expounds the words of Pope Pius XI on Whit-Sunday pleading for Catholic unity in the struggle against Communism. Equally to be deplored are the attitude of rebellion shown in Belgian *Rexisme* or the French *Terre Nouvelle* and the slowness of "representative" Catholics to support valuable Catholic social activities. The editorials touch on the relation of the Church to financial support

and to social action. They discuss some of the causes of the spirit of revolt which is so great a danger to Catholic unity. "Why have so many Catholics, whose zeal is in many cases undeniable, lost patience with the methods hitherto employed to advance the cause of Christ and, by their defiance and mistrust of their natural leaders, equivalently joined hands with His enemies? Many particular reasons may be suggested, but one common to all would seem to be that Socialists, Communists, non-Catholics generally are apparently more earnest in fighting against social injustice than are Catholics, including, it may be, some of their leaders. We are accustomed to say that there is nothing good or desirable in the Communist program which the Church does not advocate, but are we not sometimes content with saying it?"

The Russian Soul and Revolution. By Fedor Stepun, translated by Erminie Huntress—Scribner's, 1935.

In these days when the paradox is the figure adopted by human processes, when shocking contradictions and reversals of spirit bid fair to establish some Hegelian principle of progression by contradiction as the order of things, the ideas of Fedor Stepun are of paramount interest. Speaking from a psychological angle he explains Holy Russia's apostasy in terms of her soul which is the reflection of the formless Russian landscape—at once a symbol of eastern religious antipathy to form and "the tendency to persistence in a state of nature and barbarism." The tension between these two elements has produced the phenomenon of Bolshevism, an "aberration of the religious energy of the Russian people."

This thought-provoking *precis* presents the evolution of the three elements of the Revolution; viz., the Monarchy and the proletariat-creating Intellegentzia, both of whom fought over the Czar-worshipping Muzhik. Dr. Stepun presents interesting aspects of the conflagration and the concomitant "pseudomorphosis" of faith in Russia which can be conquered only by "reaffirmation of faith in the Crucified One."

Rural Life. The fourteenth annual convention of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference opened at Fargo, N. Dak., October 11. Bishop Muench stressed the need of a balance between industry and agriculture, and also spoke on the benefits of rural credit unions. Various speakers advocated cooperatives especially under local management, the substitution of farm ownership for farm tenancy, family-sized farms in opposition to "large-scale capitalistic and industrial agriculture"; attention was called to the plight of the tenant farmer and the share-cropper and organization, publicity and government action were suggested as possible remedies. Attendance and registration at the conference reached 5,000. (*The Commonwealth*, October 30, 1936.)

Catholic Agrarians Swing Into Action. In *America* for November 14, 1936, John La Farge, S.J., tells of a constructive movement which would go far to combat Communism in agricultural regions.

Recent Pamphlets. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has issued several helpful pamphlets on topics related to the campaign against Communism. They are:

1. "Why Catholics Condemn Communism." The booklet, which contains 41 pages, is composed of a series of excerpts from the allocutions, Papal pronouncements, letters and encyclicals of His Holiness Pope Pius XI. It has been compiled by a staff member of the N. C. W. C.

In a brief foreword it is stated that "the burning of churches in Spain, the Communist drive in France, the successive insurrections which have bloodied Brazil, Syria, Palestine, and Poland are only too obvious signs of a new offensive on the part of atheistic Communists." "We

ought to expect," it adds, "if not the final struggle which the revolutionaries promise us, at least redoubtable attacks. In these circumstances, it is the duty of Catholics not to permit themselves to deviate from the rules of conduct marked out by the Sovereign Pontiff. It is to aid them in discerning wherein the menace of Communism against religion consists that we have gathered these few documents."

The excerpts cover a period of eleven years—from December 18, 1924 to December 24, 1935.

2. Another N. C. W. C. publication on the subject of Communism is "*A Cure for Communism*," by the Rev. R. A. McGowan, assistant director of the N. C. W. C. Department of Social Action.

3. A third study in the application of Catholic principles is contained in "*The Encyclicals and Agriculture*," by Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B.

Are We Going Communist? *The Forum*, November, 1936. A debate between Everett Dean Martin and Earl Browder.

I Was a Communist. By Alexei B. Liberov. A pamphlet of 16 pages published by the International Catholic Truth Society, 407 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., sets forth the experiences of a workman who escaped from Russia. From personal observation he concludes that starvation, suffering and slavery have been imposed on great masses of the Russian people. Asked about the glowing accounts in the English edition of the "*Moscow Daily News*" Mr. Liberov replied: "Lies and hypocrisy, every bit of it. No newspaper in Russia dares tell the truth." He dedicates his tragic story, "To the Working People of America Whose Greatest Enemy is Communism."

I Was a Soviet Worker. By Andrew Smith. Dutton, N. Y. 1936. In 1932 Andrew Smith, prominent member of the American Communist Party since its founding, gave his life savings to the party and left with his wife for Russia. He intended to live and work there permanently. In 1935 he returned, disillusioned, to tell his story to his fellow workers. A Russia imprisoned in a vast bureaucracy, with propaganda smothering truth, with oppression in the name of freedom, with every cause for which he struggled all his life in America perverted into its opposite—this is what he found.

Communism and the Common Man: in *The Catholic World* for November, 1936, is a frank and forthright appeal to educated Catholics to offer something better than denunciation as a remedy for Communism. The author, Ruth Katherine Byrns, puts the alternatives clearly: "Reformation, reconstruction or revolution seems inevitable." The problem is not met by pamphlets alone but by leaders prepared for concrete activities. They cannot come entirely from the ranks of the clergy. What are Catholic laymen doing about it? The Church has made heroic sacrifices for the education of thousands upon thousands of Catholics in Catholic schools, colleges and universities. Is it too much to expect that such leadership will be forthcoming in return?

The Spiritual Book Associates, is a Book Club, 415 Lexington Avenue, New York, which selects an outstanding spiritual book every month. It publishes a monthly survey of Catholic literature, including a magazine index which lists articles of value. Communism and atheism are covered in the references. Well worth having.

Constitution Day Address. In a nationally broadcast Constitution Day address before the Kiwanis Club of Washington, on September 17, 1936, the Hon. Homer

Cummings, Attorney General of the United States, said in part:

"We have established a Constitution which is supreme over all the acts of government, legislative, executive, and judicial alike, because it is the highest expression of the popular will.

"The American constitutional method is a process of adaptation and growth—by pursuing the practices of free discussion we shall find our path amid the intricacies of modern life and preserve in its essential integrity the great document that lies in the heart of our governmental structure.

"As long as these processes can go forward, untroubled and unvexed, America is safe. But, from time to time, we are told that subversive suggestions are received from abroad calculated to influence the course of conduct here. I am sure that we all realize the vital importance of keeping the current of legitimate debate free from defilement from any alien sources. We have built up here a structure of freedom that stands like a great rock against the swirling waters of violence and revolution that have engulfed so many lands. This structure we propose to maintain, believing as we do that it is a refuge from intolerant and arbitrary power, a citadel of human rights and liberty."

Copies of the complete address are available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Youth and Communism. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., in an address before the Third National Convention of the Holy Name Society at New York City, September 19, 1936, said in part:

"And in addition to criminal wreckage of youth, which lays a heavy enough burden on us all, this parental indifference in America tends to create a weakening even of our political structure. Instigators of subversive activities against our form of government recruit their army of revolt from the ranks of youth. And they win these tragic, misguided young zealots because parents have been too lazy or too ignorant of existing conditions, or too enamored of false philosophies to attack teachings foreign to our ideals and repugnant to the solid American wisdom of common sense which should exist in every home. No boy or girl will be a recruit to subversive activities against our traditions if he or she has been correctly reared and taught by responsible parents that America can exist only as a community of God-fearing, sober-minded and liberty-loving free men and women."

Copies of the address in full are obtainable from Mr. Hoover's office, mentioned above.

Communist Organization and Operation. The Student Americaneers, a national organization of patriotic students founded in Columbus, Ohio, at Ohio University, and now with member groups in other educational institutions, has published a booklet, "Criminal Syndicalism—What Communism Will Do to Your Job." It has been compiled from original Communist documents and purposes to make public the aims and methods of Communist Party organization. The booklet contains five chapters, divided into eleven lessons on the subjects of: Fundamentals of the Party Program; Basic Principles of Party Organization; Structure and Functions of the Party Organizations; Party Membership and Cadres; Disciplinary Cases. In conclusion, the booklet quotes a pledge read to workers who were initiated into the party in the New York district in 1935.

"Criminal Syndicalism" is distributed by Student Americaneers, P. O. Box 456, Columbus, Ohio, at 25 cents each for a single copy to 50 copies.

Present Interdependence and Future World Society. By John LaFarge, S.J. *Thought*, September, 1936. Economic, cultural and social interdependence of the nations logically necessitates some sort of world society or organization. "The problem of international peace today is not that of constructing an ideal system to supplant reality; it is that of finding what to do *about reality*. The interdependence is upon us." Two philosophies of human relationships—Christianity and State Absolutism (whether Communist or Fascist)—are striving for ascendancy in fashioning the new world order. A highly readable, penetrating analysis.

Strikes and Compulsory Arbitration. By Rev. Cornelius Lacey, D.D., of Maynooth, in *Studies, An Irish Quarterly*, June, 1936. Advocates a "system wherein the government compels all disputes in industry to be submitted to a special tribunal when the parties themselves have reached a deadlock. The judicial award of this tribunal is binding on the management and men concerned. . . . All (Totalitarian) States have adopted this system, but there is nothing distinctively totalitarian about it." It is practised in Australia, New Zealand and Norway. Dr. Lacey's article is briefly discussed, pro and con, in the following pages by six authorities in the field of industrial relations. *Ibidem*—a favorable review of "Staline: Aperçu Historique du Bolshevisme," par Boris Souvarine. Paris: Plon, 1935. 30 fr.

The Wage Earner in a Machine Age. By Paul L. Blakely, S.J. *America*, September 26, 1936. "Rights are worthless when they cannot be exercised. . . . No man is free if he is not free to make a just contract for his labor. . . . The strongest allies of Communism are the domestic groups who perpetuate the shocking injustices of which the American wage earner has been the victim."

Fascism or Communism: Which the Greater Danger? By John LaFarge, S.J., in *America*, October 10, 1936. "You cannot oppose a doctrine, no matter how unreasonable or fanatical, with mere force, with no doctrine at all. . . . I regard Fascism as a danger not as contrasted with Communism, but because of Communism; because it is both the parent of Communism and its natural heir. . . . Our combat . . . is by the construction of a positive Catholic social program, which will exemplify not in theory alone, but in active remedies, concretely applied to existing social distress, the social mission of Christianity. . . . As yet our accomplishments are not notable."

Protest Against Simplicism. By John A. Loftus, in *Commonweal*, September 18, 1936. A provocative statement advocating concrete applications of the general social principles enunciated in the Encyclicals and in Catholic ethics, instead of mere enthusiastic but vague reiteration of them. The occasional at least verbal exaggeration of the author should not prejudice the reader against his general thesis. He indicates many points where clarification of social doctrine is necessary.

A Catholic Catechism of Social Questions (pamphlet). By T. J. O'Kane. The Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, England. \$0.15. "This booklet ought to be in the hands of every Catholic. . . . Would that there were more of such books."—*The Sign*.

A Catechism of Communism for Catholic High School Students (pamphlet). By a Passionist Father. The Paulist Press, New York. \$0.05.

Spanish Turmoil. By Rev. Owen B. McGuire, in

The Sign, September, 1936. A fluent, very readable expose of the background of the civil war in Spain. Perhaps the most informative description that has yet appeared. The author has resided in Spain for the past 17 years.

Tactics of Communism. By Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, in *The Sign*, November, 1936. In the form of 61 questions and answers, the author discusses Communist objectives, organization, methods and strategy, with special reference to Earl Browder and the party in America. The answers are documented with page references to Communistic publications. The "United Front" and relations to the Third International are pointed out. This article is to be published by *The Sign* in pamphlet

form. It is an important item for study-clubs, parishes, retreat houses, schools.

The Communist and Freedom of Speech. By William F. Kuhn, in *America*, October 31, 1936. Does the Constitution provide means for controlling Communist agitation? The author believes it does, and quotes legal argument in favor of his view. He points out, however, that this solution is negative and partial only, for "the only course that promises real success is the spiritual and philosophical attack, the withering fire of enlightened knowledge and superior intelligence enacted into legal measures especially directed to erase the main causes for the success of such radical tenets as Communism breeds." A timely, constructive article.

Miscellaneous

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THE article on "Communism in the Philippines," promised for the present issue, has been held over until the January number. Among the informative articles in that issue will be an exposition of the work of Premier Salazar of Portugal who has reduced the idea of the Corporative State to concrete form and in truly Christian terms.

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THE compilation of Papal utterances on Communism likewise promised for December has been omitted because it became superfluous. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has issued just such a compilation—as we note in "DOCUMENTATION."

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PLEASE ponder well the Editorial Appeal on page 27. This Bulletin is a co-operative. The harvest of dividends will depend on the active support of all the contributing editors. Let there be a steady flow of information and news to the Editor-

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THE EDITORS EXTEND TO ALL THE PROVINCES OF THE UNITED STATES A VERY HEARTY WISH FOR A HAPPY AND HOLY CHRISTMAS. THE PROVINCES OF THE UNITED STATES SALUTE THEIR BROTHERS IN THE TWO CANADIAN PROVINCES AND BEG GOD'S BLESSINGS ON THEM AND ALL THEIR WORKS AT CHRISTMASTIDE.

in-Chief. We shall soon see the results. One Provincial of an important American province wrote to all the members of his jurisdiction that such co-operation would result in our having an alert correspondent in every city of the country. That organization should further result in our Bulletin becoming the best and most authoritative of its kind.

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READERS will notice the change in the set-up of pages, which now carry three instead of two columns. This condensation permits us to include more material within a given number of pages without so reducing the type as to make the text difficult to read.

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ONE of our editors recently visited many Provinces and cities and gathered much valuable information regarding the type of material desired by our readers. Certain of his recommendations are embodied in this number.